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## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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28 JULY 1989

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### Party's Accomplishments Cited; New Deputies Support Urged

18300630 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 7 May 89 p 1

[KazTAG report: "Toward the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Kazakhstan: Following the Compass of Perestroika"]

[Text] The slogan of October "All Power to the Soviet" has now become the slogan of perestroika. Only for this reason can it with full justification be called revolutionary: as is known, at all times with major social changes the question of power has been crucial. On 25 May, all power will be transferred to the hands of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It is a truly historical event as the nation is moving toward real rule by the people.

Good ground for this has been prepared by perestroika and perestroyka, in turn, has been fostered by the party. Not everything is going presently as we planned, as we might wish, but on the fundamental, major questions we have reached the planned staging areas. Each person at present can easily follow the rational sequence and inner cohesiveness of the profound processes in society over the 4 years between the April Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee in 1985 and 1989. Here we should recall the words of M.S. Gorbachev: "While in the first stage the process of democratization to a significant degree was determined by the initiatives and practical work of the party and it occurred as it were from above, at present this process to a decisive degree is characterized by a powerful movement from below, by a movement of the broadest masses of workers. This is the main thing."

The national referendum, as the past elections of the USSR People's Deputies are now being called, has clearly shown that the people are in favor of perestroika, of its acceleration, deepening and development to its complete logical conclusion, when shoddy work, lazy thought and indifference to any injustice will trouble each of us like a sharp nail in our own boot.

At present, we are all expecting a very great deal from the Congress of People's Deputies and clearly much more than can be realistically expected during the days of its work. This impatience is humanly understandable as in any new undertaking, in renewing our own socialist home, numerous difficulties of all sorts constantly arise. And we very much want to get rid of them faster. And the guarantee for this, regardless of all the difficulties of growth, has still been rather soundly based. We are learning, we are maturing, and we are being enriched with the experience of living in the new manner. It is quite right that perestroika is frequently compared with the oncoming spring. The vital forces unleashed by it have not only put down strong, well-rooted shoots but are already beginning to produce their fruit. And one of the most delicate indicators of renewal in the republic is at present, probably, the perestroika of economic management on the basis of self-management and self-financing. With each passing day it becomes ever-clearer

that a radical economic reform is moving up the "steps of independence" from brigade to shop, from enterprise to sector, in occupying constantly new "floors" of its national economic complex.

The dynamic economic development of the republic is eloquently characterized by the following figures: over the last 3 years, national income has increased by almost 6 percent. And what is particularly pleasing, the pace of favorable changes is steadily continuing to grow. For example, in the first quarter of the current year by increasing labor productivity by 3.7 percent, virtually all the increase in the production volume was obtained in industry.

And the guidelines in this constantly accelerating movement are clear for the future. Primarily these are: accelerating the democratic principles in production management, its reconstruction and technical reequipping and the greatest possible intensification. Thus, the labor collectives have elected one out of every ten leader and some 1,700 different specialist positions were filled on a competitive basis. These and other factors have made it possible to bring about a significant rise in the effectiveness of social production and reduce the number of enterprises operating at a loss. For instance, in Guryev the workers have leased a one-time lagging housing construction combine and on the same area with the same equipment and with a fewer number of workers have begun not only to fulfill the plans but also to significantly exceed them. The Kazakh Gosstroy, having spotted a clear sprout of the new, as a whole for the republic plans to turn over another 12 housing construction combines and 30 industrial enterprises to lessees.

At the same time, new approaches are being worked out in developing the agroindustrial complex. Here priority has been given to the ubiquitous dissemination of progressive forms of organizing labor and wages, to strengthening the private plots, and to reducing unproductive expenditures and losses of already produced products. Suffice it to say that recently the number of farms which have converted to leasing and which have introduced progressive forms of the organization of labor and wages in all their subdivisions has increased by several fold.

Life shows that the approaches assumed here have been generally correct. Over the last 3 years, they have made it possible in the republic to increase the per capita meat consumption by almost 10 kg, milk by 33 kg and vegetables by 6 kg. The store shelves in Tselinograd, Kokchetav and Kustanay have become even richer and more diverse and here the purchasers are offered a minimum of 35-40 types of meat convenience foods and subproducts and up to 20 types of sausages and smoked products.

However, we are still far from completely eliminating the stress in the republic in the area of food products. Ahead of us lies great and constant work to implement the Food

Program and carry out the new agrarian policy worked out at the March (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

For this very important undertaking for the fate of perestroika we must set to work in a truly energetic and bold manner and even with a certain degree of risk as otherwise we will not completely overcome the inertia caused by the alienation of the peasants from the land, the bureaucratic inhibition and will not bring about a fundamental change for the better. Here there is truly an unlimited field of activity for the local Soviets which are presently receiving all local power. In a number of republic regions they are already beginning to employ this power in an intelligent manner, in particular, in East Kazakhstan, Kustanay and Chimkent Oblasts, in independently working out the principles of full cost accounting and self-financing without glancing "up above." Positive changes at present are also occurring where with proper support from the deputies a green light has been given to leasing, private and family farms.

The situation of milk production shows what enormous reserves and opportunities are concealed here. In the first quarter of the current year, in comparison with the corresponding period of last year, 41,000 more tons of milk were purchased. And 1/2 of this increase has come from the private farms. Such a valuable peasant initiative must be supported and developed in every possible way.

A good deal remains to be done also in organizing cooperation between industry and agriculture on a mutually advantageous basis. This means the deliveries of equipment, building materials and technology to the countryside, the erection of food industry enterprises in the cities and the development of subsidiary farms and collective orchard and truck farming.

In many industrial centers of the republic they are not waiting for any instructions on this but have immediately set to work. Thus, in Pavlodar at the beginning of the current year, the industrial enterprises transferred over 5 million rubles to a special bank account for the development of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the city facilities of the oblagroprom [oblast agroindustrial committee]. In speaking about the perestroika of the economy and its sharp focus on social processes and on the redistribution of resources and reserves in favor of satisfying the urgent needs of the public, we cannot help but note one important feature. Where the local soviets are up to things, where they skillfully use their sharply increased powers and have set to work to solve the new tasks without the still customary hesitations and various references to the notorious "objective" difficulties, the long-awaited and hard-won changes are coming about faster. And these changes themselves, as a rule, are of a consistent and irreversible nature, they are marked by profoundness and conform fully to the demands which have been raised by our party's course of a revolutionary renewal of socialism.

And what could be more persuasive proof of the loyalty to this course than the improved living conditions of many hundreds and thousands of people, each of us, the emancipated initiative, the opportunity to show oneself in a specific undertaking essential for society. A clear example of this is the number of new homes which has sharply increased in the republic. Over the last 3 years alone, the urban and rural workers have received above the plan over 1.7 million m<sup>2</sup> of housing. This means that additional tens of thousands of families have moved into new apartments and more than 40 percent of the persons on waiting lists have improved their living conditions.

Certainly before perestroika many inhabitants of Kazakhstan could not even dream of such quick moves as they were tired of the fruitless waiting. And this is not surprising! The housing tension in our republic for a long time had been growing faster than we could relieve it. Among the construction workers, specialists, various levels of leaders and a number of the people's elected, a rather persistent conviction arose of the impossibility of getting things off dead center by their own forces. As for the broad masses of workers, the inertia of empty promises, the contradiction between the pompous phrases about the millions of square meters of housing completed in Kazakhstan and the extremely slow advance up the waiting list for obtaining it caused not only disappointment but outright mistrust, social apathy and political infantilism.

The profound changes which began in the republic at the start of the second year of the five-year plan literally in all spheres of social life shattered the stereotype of previous notions concerning the actual possibilities of the housing conveyor line: the Housing-91 Program arose which was aimed within a period of 5 years at providing apartments to all who were on the waiting lists on 1 January 1987. Its ideas, it can be said without exaggeration, in reaching the hearts of each resident of Kazakhstan and reinforced by the restoration of social justice in the allocating of housing encouraged everyone—from the ordinary construction worker to the minister—to show tenacity, initiative and entrepreneurship in seeking out new approaches and out-of-the-ordinary solutions. Individual and cooperative construction developed widely as did the erection of housing by the direct labor method. And the result was that for 2 years running the annual quota for completing housing was fulfilled in the republic by the time of the anniversary of Great October. Housing is being erected ahead of the plan during the current year as well. As a whole, in terms of the pace of housing construction, Kazakhstan is now in first place in the nation.

Many other aspects of increasing prosperity and more fully satisfying the needs of the Soviet man have also been put at the center of attention and concern of our society which is carrying out the noble task of disclosing the human face of socialism. In particular, take such a difficult problem for Kazakhstan as consumer goods. Even recently over 60 percent of them were shipped in from outside the republic. Up to the present the volume

of such deliveries has been reduced to 43 percent. Over the 3 years of the five-year plan, the output of consumer goods (minus alcoholic beverages) has risen by 1.5-fold in comparison with 1985.

The restructuring of Kazakhstan industry is also beginning to bear fruit. And above all, the giving of a stable and planned nature to the outstripping of the end production results over intermediate ones, the consistent concluding of the "extraction—processing" cycle everywhere and the intensive forming of scientific-intensive sectors. Just in the area of light industry over the next few years, the republic will build over 80 enterprises. And this is not counting the 115 industrial complexes based on prefab buildings from light metal structural elements, the so-called modules, the installation of which has been going on at full pitch since last year. This is also one of the vivid signs of perestroika.

Much has also been done in the republic to eliminate the disproportions in the socioeconomic and cultural development of its individual oblasts and rayons. But at present particular attention is being given to "the deep interior" the population of which in a predominant majority is persons of the indigenous nationality.

The state of affairs here, it must be honestly admitted, is serious. Out of the 205 rural rayons in the republic, 71 have a very low level of social development and 30 of them are in a lamentable state. Recently a decision was taken to give them extraordinary social aid.

By a special decree of the Kazakhstan government it is planned, for example, in 1990 using funds from the republic budget to complete 200,000 m<sup>2</sup> of housing, in the 13th five-year plan to complete over a million m<sup>2</sup> of housing and build general education schools with 63,500 places. The plan is to erect first in the lagging rayons hospitals and polyclinics, housing-communal and cultural-service facilities, that is, a broad and all-encompassing range of measures to improve public health.

Perestroika, as a truly revolutionary renewal of all spheres of life, cannot be conceived of without transferring to the soviets all power, consolidating the social forces, nations and nationalities, their solidarity and mobilizing not only the material but also the spiritual and moral forces to the great and noble undertaking.

Let us recall the recent past, that is, what was customary for many until the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. In Kazakhstan, as in the other republics, from the high rostrums the speakers constantly asserted the "monolithic moral and political unity," the "shining, diamond-like" friendship of peoples and the "once-and-for-all resolved nationality question." But behind the pompous assurances were concealed flagrant problems and violations in the national composition, in the recruitment and placement of personnel and disregard for the long prevalent problems of the development of the languages and culture of

the representatives of over 100 nations and nationalities inhabiting one of the largest Soviet republics.

At present, it is rather clear to all what were the results of this, just what this all entailed.

The party organizations, the soviets, the cultural institutions and the social organizations set to work energetically on everything related to this diverse and very difficult undertaking, in endeavoring in it to reach out to every man. Here they immediately defined the "sore spots." Political and ideological action was concentrated on them and this was done in a situation of broad democratization and glasnost and real involvement in resolving key questions of ordinary workers, the youth and veterans who previously over the decades had been urged to be "active," but in fact had been left in the role of "cogs" which had been assigned to them during the evil Stalinist times.

The people of Kazakhstan undoubtedly recall how everywhere they began decisively to overcome the negative and stagnation phenomena and how a hostile situation began to be created over the abuses of the various levels of officials who had "moved up" because of coming from the same area or by nepotism. Thus, the path was cleared for the arrival of new, trustworthy cadres, real proponents of perestroika.

Important turning points in raising the level of interethnic relations were the decrees on the study of Kazakh and Russian languages and German as mother tongues and so forth and these were followed up by concrete work in implementing them. Much was done also to activate scientific potential on research on the questions of the socioeconomic and cultural development of the republic and improving nationality and interethnic relations.

Particular attention is being given to the ideological-moral, international and patriotic education of the youth, and to their civil development. In their work with students the party and soviet bodies, the Komsomol organizations, the institutions of learning, as well as the cultural and sports institutions have begun to rely less on general appeals and more on direct contact and quick response to requests and needs. In the cultural sphere as well to a significant degree we have eliminated the empty sham and in an evermore concrete and effective manner we are settling the problems raised by renewal and which concern and attract the viewers and listeners.

Beginning to pay off is the concern for a constant attracting of persons to movie and theater auditoriums, museums, libraries, for disseminating cultural services for as large a number of the population as possible, including the residents of the most distant settlements.

Naturally in this context the role of the creative unions also grows. Their efforts are being directed against manifestation of group exclusiveness, localism and complacency, at a vivid and profound depiction of modern realities and at an uncompromising struggle of the new against stagnation and in the course of which humanism, justice and morality

are established. At the same time, the names of persons who made a major contribution to the development of Kazakhstan and who were wrongly "eradicated" from history in the bad times are being restored.

The real shifts in the political, organizational and indoctrinational activities, in cultural services and in improving interethnic relations can be seen just as realistically in the social sense of the republic inhabitants and in their assessment of the existing dynamics of perestroika processes. We feel that persuasive proof of this is the results of the recent elections of the USSR People's Deputies. Both in the course of the preparations for them and in the process of voting itself, the people of Kazakhstan showed a high awareness of their civil duty. The percentage of persons voting in the elections was one of the highest in the nation. The elections became a concrete proof of the approbation and support for perestroika, a confirmation of the correctness of the path chosen by the party and the people and a great tribute to the people's elected.

But as was emphasized at the April (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, democracy is not only the broadening of real rights but also a strengthening of discipline and organization. It must be confessed as well that the broadening of glasnost and liberties has often been used by various sorts of small groupings of those who, in pretending to be supporters of perestroika, are in fact its strong opponents. There have been announcements about this in the press from various places and many of us in the republic ourselves have met repeatedly with such individuals. This is a question primarily of the representatives of various extremist initiative social formations. We must say directly that in recent years they have begun to grow in some places, literally like mushrooms after the rain. Certainly, such "initiators" must be given an uncompromising rebuff. Here we must not have appeasement, indecisiveness or the notorious position of that is no concern of mine.

However, there are also many such initiative social formations which sincerely desire to help, for example, in accelerating a healthier environment and involve more workers in constructive participation in the management of production and social affairs. In the republic they should receive proper support from the party and soviet bodies and the public. Certainly their actions do not go beyond constructive socialist ends and are objectively aimed at accelerating the socioeconomic development and improving the prosperity of the people.

In a word, we have many initiative groups operating in the channel of perestroika. But there are also those which are confused in certain regards. For these we must be particularly attentive and explain the errors and help them in becoming useful for the cause of socialist renewal. Here we must not allow hurry, hotheadedness, or vehemence in our proofs and conclusions. In the forefront there should be the responsibility of the citizens and above all the communists for the unswerving observance of the Soviet laws and the decrees of the appropriate levels.

In steadily and creatively adding to their contribution to the creation of new material and spiritual goods and in working for beneficial changes in all areas of life both for themselves and for all the peoples of the motherland, the people of Kazakhstan are moving steadily forward, they are assessing the successes of their republic in an objective and proper manner, they are frankly and boldly pointing to shortcomings, including those committed recently, and are working steadily to eliminate them. The words come to mind voiced by M.S. Gorbachev at a meeting with the representatives of the labor collectives at the cosmodrome and city of Leninsk: "Here in the infinite steppes of Kazakhstan, one feels a sense of pride for the reason and deeds of the Soviet people, for our Soviet fatherland. Here one feels more strongly the greatness and might of the nation of October and its enormous accomplishments."

For this reason, the communists and workers of the republic, in defiance of the difficulties and in overcoming them, are backing the party and are doing more and more to establish the democratic, human face of socialism. This unstinting and noble labor has been going on now for 4-plus years. We are renewing, rebuilding and adding to our socialist home. We are strengthening its economic foundation, possibly not as quickly as one might wish, but quite consistently, "brick by brick," we are laying the bases for the political and social reforms with the broad and bright "windows" of democracy and glasnost.

At the same time, in carrying out our strategic tasks, in no instance must we overlook our, so to speak, immediate, tactical aims. As was pointed out at the April (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we must not at present disregard the prime vital problems which exist in society and which require an immediate solution. Certainly these largely determine the social attitudes of the people and hence, ultimately, how consistently and how quickly perestroika itself will go on.

Of course, everyone realizes that the economy is not to be restructured in a single sweep, the existing stereotypes will not be shattered all at once, but at the same time it is perfectly valid not to want to tolerate the fact that at times tasks which could be resolved today are put off until "tomorrow." Completely valid are the complaints of interruptions in the supply of elementary articles which long could have been in abundance. We are all dissatisfied with the organization of trade and the service sphere, municipal transport and the utility system, by the neglected state of many of our "cultural centers," by the indecisiveness in the struggle against mismanagement, violations of law and order, as well as by the dissatisfactory ecological state of many population points.

Yes, from the heights of 4 1/2 years of social renewal at present we can clearly see all the weak elements in our "construction scaffolding." The mistakes in the work of certain party organizations and a certain infantilism in the activities of a number of soviets of varying rank, the insufficient elaboration of the economic mechanism and the half-heartedness of many adopted decisions.

And here completely natural questions arise: What about the USSR people's deputies, those for whom the people of Kazakhstan have already voted on 26 March and in the following round of elections? What is their position, their personal contribution to eliminating the urgent problems? Certainly 6 weeks have already passed since the elections and it is completely logical to assume that from the very outset they would endeavor to justify the mandate of trust, without waiting to embody their platforms in real and important matters. But we see, alas, something different: only a few-score of the people's elect in the republic have approached their new status with a full measure of exactingness and responsibility.

These questions are serious also because a new election campaign will commence soon for the republic and local soviets. And again they must pass the exam of meeting the high demands of perestroika. And those who still continue to state that "the position will provide," cannot pass this exam. Always and in everything the true criterion for assessing a man is his deeds.

We must put our house completely in order, as if it had a good owner! This certainly is one of the most important conclusions of the April (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. At present, under the conditions of inflationary processes there is probably no more acute problem than reducing losses and unproductive expenses and a real fight against mismanagement and wastefulness which are deep-rooted virtually in all spheres of activity. And just, as they say, how things have come to such a state is largely—let us be honest—our fault. It is essential to look the truth in the eyes, as was pointed out at the Plenum, and realize that many have lost the habit of working, saying that they are paid merely for showing up on the job.

An indispensable condition for the development of democracy is the complete strengthening of discipline. At present, it is not understood as the blind execution of at times contradictory and obsolete instructions but rather as a truly creative, efficient and thrifty attitude toward the job. This must not only be understood but, as they say, accepted wholeheartedly. Otherwise, even the best, most correct and most democratic decisions will inevitably "slip through."

Thus, just 2 1/2 weeks remain until the opening of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. There can be no doubt that at it the most urgent problems will be raised and the solutions will be truly fateful for the entire nation.

A representative detachment of the people's elect from Kazakhstan will participate in the work of the Congress. The people of Kazakhstan are convinced that in discussing any questions they will show wisdom, political strength, social activeness worthy of our great motherland and of the hopes and expectations of each of us. For this reason it is difficult to refrain from giving the deputies from Kazakhstan one other piece of advice: look at everything, as they say, from the heights of the Kremlin and not from your local "bell tower." Fight for such decisions which will

serve the cause of further strengthening the USSR, the vital interests of both the entire Soviet people and each nation and nationality individually and a general rise in the prosperity of the people.

#### **Uzbek Draft Law on Languages Published for Public Discussion**

##### **Supreme Soviet Instructions**

18300740 Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA  
in Russian 20 Jun 89 p 1

["Decree of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Draft Law of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic on Languages"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet hereby decrees:

1. That the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Draft Law on Languages, which has been presented to the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet permanent commissions for legislative proposals on matters of interethnic relations and internationalist upbringing, public education, and culture, be submitted for public discussion. That the draft law be published in republic and oblast newspapers.
2. That the Presidium of the Karakalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet, the executive committees of the oblast and Tashkent city soviets of people's deputies, ministries, state committees and departments, and organs of mass media of the Uzbek SSR organize the discussion and generalize proposals and comments submitted concerning the draft law by people's deputies, citizens, labor collectives, and social organizations.
3. That the discussion of the Uzbek SSR draft law on languages be set for a period of two months from the day of its publication. That generalized proposals and comments on the draft law be submitted to the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet once every 15 days.
4. That a working group be formed out of members of the commissions for legislative proposals on matters of interethnic relations and internationalist upbringing, public education, and culture within the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet to make a careful study of proposals and comments on the draft Law on Languages.
5. That the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet commissions for legislative proposals on matters of interethnic relations and internationalist upbringing, public education, and culture make the necessary corrections and amendments to the draft Law on Languages on the basis of the results of the public discussion and submit it to the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet for subsequent submission to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] M. Ibragimov, chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet;

*L. Bekkulbekova, secretary of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.*

*Tashkent, 18 May 1989.*

### **Text of Draft Law**

*18300740 Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA  
in Russian 20 Jun 89 p 1*

["Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Draft Law on Languages"]

[Text] The present Law on Languages sets forth the legal foundations of the official use of the Uzbek language as the state language on the territory of the republic. The law ensures the functioning of the Russian language as the language of interethnic communication of the peoples of the USSR as well as the use of other national languages in the territory of the Uzbek SSR.

Citizens of the Uzbek SSR are equal regardless of what their native language is. The equal rights of the languages of the peoples of Uzbekistan constitute an inseparable element of the equal rights of nations and nationalities living in the territory of the republic. The state ensures all citizens' opportunity to use the Uzbek language, Russian, and other languages in exercising their socioeconomic, cultural, political, and personal rights and freedoms.

Legislative regulation in the sphere of the use of languages in the territory of the Uzbek SSR is oriented toward the harmonious development of Uzbek and other languages, growth of the socioeconomic potential of the republic, revival, development, and mutual enrichment of national cultures, strengthening of people's friendship, solidarity, and cooperation, and also the strengthening of the internationalist unity of all nations and nationalities of Uzbekistan.

### **Section I. General Provisions**

#### **Article 1. Legal Status of the Uzbek Language**

Uzbek shall be the state language of the Uzbek SSR.

The Uzbek SSR shall exercise governmental concern for the comprehensive development of the Uzbek language and provide for its use in state and social organs, institutions of culture, science, public education, upbringing, health care, and other spheres of social life.

The status of the Uzbek language as the official state language shall not encroach upon the constitutional right of citizens of other nationalities living in the territory of the Uzbek SSR to make use of their own native language and of the Russian language as the language of interethnic communication.

#### **Article 2. Guarantee of Development of Languages**

The Uzbek SSR shall ensure respectful treatment of all languages used in the republic and shall create conditions for their free development.

#### **Article 3. The Russian Language as the Medium of Interethnic Communication**

The Russian language shall be the medium of interethnic communication in the Uzbek SSR.

Official correspondence beyond the borders of the Uzbek SSR shall be drawn up chiefly in the Russian language or in another language acceptable to the parties.

Activities of state and social organs of the Uzbek SSR outside the borders of the republic shall be conducted in Uzbek and Russian.

#### **Article 4. The Competence of the Uzbek SSR in the Sphere of Legislation Concerning the Development and Use of Languages**

The Uzbek SSR shall have the right to resolve any issue concerning the development and use of languages in the territory of the republic unless it is subject to the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the USSR Constitution and other legislative acts of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The present Law of the Uzbek SSR shall stipulate the principles of interrelations, legal status, and spheres of use of the Uzbek language, Russian, and other languages in the territory of the republic.

#### **Article 5. Competence of the Karakalpak ASSR in the Sphere of Legislation Concerning the Development and Use of Languages**

The Karakalpak ASSR shall have the right to resolve any issue concerning the development and use of languages in the territory of the autonomous republic unless this be assigned to the jurisdiction of the Uzbek SSR by the Uzbek SSR Constitution and the present law.

Outside the limits of the jurisdiction of the Uzbek SSR, the Karakalpak ASSR shall have the right to stipulate the legal status of the language of the autonomous republic, including the establishment of it as the state language.

#### **Article 6. Legislation of the Uzbek SSR and the Karakalpak ASSR Concerning the Development and Use of Languages**

Legislation of the Uzbek SSR concerning languages consists of the Uzbek SSR Constitution, the present law, and other normative acts of the Uzbek SSR and the Karakalpak ASSR promulgated in accordance with them concerning the development and use of languages.

### **Section II. Rights and Guarantees of the Citizen in the Choice of Language**

#### **Article 7. The Language in Which Citizens Submit Proposals, Declarations, and Complaints**

Citizens of the Uzbek SSR shall have the right to submit proposals, declarations, and complaints to state and social organs in the state language or in the language they speak.

**Article 8. The Language in Which Citizens Deal With Workers in the Sphere of Services**

In dealing with workers in the sphere of services (trade, medical aid, communications, transport, various kinds of consumer services, and so on), citizens of the Uzbek SSR may use the state language, the language of interethnic communication, or another language of national groups living in places of compact settlement which they speak. Workers in the sphere of services shall not have the right to refuse service on grounds of lack of knowledge of the state language or of Russian.

Workers in the sphere of services shall have a knowledge of both the Uzbek language and Russian on a level necessary to perform their professional duties.

**Section III. Language in the Activities of Organs of State Authority and Administration, Social Organizations**

**Article 9. The Language of Operation of State Organs of the Uzbek SSR**

In the activities of organs of state authority and administration of the Uzbek SSR, as a general rule, Uzbek shall be the language of meetings and other conferences. Persons not proficient in Uzbek shall be provided with translation into Russian or into a language of national groups. Documents shall be kept in Uzbek and, when necessary, in Russian.

In places of compact settlement of national groups, local organs of state authority and administration may use the native language alongside Uzbek or Russian.

**Article 10. The Language of Publication of Laws and Other Legal Acts**

Legislative acts of the highest organs of state authority and administration of the Uzbek SSR shall be enacted in Uzbek, translated into Russian, and published in the official publications of the republic in Uzbek with translation into Russian.

Legislative acts of local organs of state authority and administration in places of compact settlement of national groups shall be enacted and published in Uzbek, Russian, and the language of the appropriate nationality.

**Article 11. The Language of Communication With All-Union Organs and Foreign States**

In relations with all-union organs of state authority and administration, organs of state authority and administration of the Uzbek SSR shall use the Russian language; in relations with state organs of other union and autonomous republics, they shall use Uzbek, Russian, and a language acceptable to both sides.

In relations with foreign states, use shall be made of a language acceptable to both sides, taking account of international agreements and established practices.

**Section IV. Language in the Work of Institutions, Enterprises, and Organizations**

**Article 12. Language in the Work of Institutions, Enterprises, and Organizations**

In official dealings between workers and an administrator of an institution, enterprise, or organization, the language of communication and information shall be chosen by the subordinate worker. An administrator may use Uzbek or Russian as the language of communication and information.

**Article 13. The Language of Documents**

The language of documents in institutions, enterprises, and organizations located in the territory of the Uzbek SSR shall be Uzbek and Russian.

In places of compact settlement of national groups, documents may be drawn up in the languages of these groups. In such cases, documents shall be duplicated in the state language or in Russian.

**Article 14. Official Correspondence in the Work of Institutions, Enterprises, and Organizations**

In correspondence with organs of state authority and administration of the Uzbek SSR, as well as correspondence among themselves, institutions, enterprises, and organizations of the republic shall use Uzbek and, when necessary, Russian.

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations located in the territory of the Uzbek SSR shall conduct correspondence with institutions, enterprises, and organizations outside the republic in Uzbek, Russian, or some other language acceptable to the parties.

**Article 15. Accounting-Statistical and Financial Documentation in Enterprises, Institutions, and Organizations**

Accounting-statistical and financial documentation in enterprises, institutions, and organizations located in the territory of the Uzbek SSR shall be conducted in Uzbek and Russian, and reports and financial documents to be sent outside the republic shall be drawn up in Russian or in a language acceptable to the other side.

**Article 16. Creation of Conditions for the Study of Language**

Institutions, enterprises, and organizations located in the territory of the Uzbek SSR shall provide their labor collectives with conditions for the study of Uzbek, Russian, or—in places of compact settlement of national groups—the language of the relevant nationality, on a level sufficient for the performance of official duties.

The republic shall support and encourage citizens' striving to study the languages of the peoples of the USSR and foreign languages.

**Section V. Language in the Activities of Organs of Justice, Arbitration, Notary, and Registration of Acts of Civil Status**

**Article 17. Language in the Work of Organs of Justice**

Legal proceedings in the Uzbek SSR shall be conducted in Uzbek, Karakalpak, or a language acceptable to the majority of the population of a given locality.

Persons involved in a case who are not proficient in the language of the court proceedings shall have the right to make declarations, give testimony, appear in court, and make petitions in their native language, and also make use of the services of an interpreter in accordance with procedures established by existing legislation.

Investigative and court documents shall be provided to persons taking part in a case, translated into the language they are proficient in, in accordance with procedures established by existing legislation.

**Article 18. Review and Formulation of Cases Concerning Administrative Infractions**

During the review of cases concerning administrative infractions, persons called to administrative accountability, as well as other persons taking part in the case, shall have the right to use their native language and, if they are not proficient in the language of the administrative proceedings, to use the services of an interpreter.

The report [protokol] concerning the administrative infraction shall be drawn up in Uzbek. If the person called to administrative accountability is not proficient in Uzbek, he shall be provided with a translation of the content of the report into Russian or an acceptable language.

**Article 19. Language in the Work of Organs of State Arbitration**

Organs of state arbitration of the Uzbek SSR shall review economic disputes between institutions, enterprises, and organizations in Uzbek or in Russian.

**Article 20. The Language of Notary Work**

Notary work in state notary offices and executive committees of rayon, city, settlement, and kishlak soviets of people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR shall be conducted in Uzbek, Russian, or a language acceptable for the majority of the population of the given locality.

If the applicant does not know the language in which the work is conducted, the texts of documents that are drawn up shall be translated for him by the state notary or other official performing notary work, or by an interpreter, into his native language or into Russian.

**Article 21. Official Work in the Organs of Registration of Acts of Civil Status**

Official work in organs of registration of acts of civil status of the Uzbek SSR shall be conducted in the state language and in Russian.

**Article 22. Language in the Work of Attorneys' Collegiums**

Citizens of the Uzbek SSR shall be provided legal aid as stipulated by existing legislation, by attorneys' collegiums, in Uzbek or in Russian and, in places of compact settlement of national groups, in the language of the relevant nationality.

**Section VI. Language in the Sphere of Public Education, Science, and Culture**

**Article 23. Freedom of Choice of the Language of Instruction**

Citizens of the Uzbek SSR shall be guaranteed free choice of the language of instruction.

This right shall be guaranteed by the creation of a broad network of preschool institutions and schools with instruction in Uzbek, Russian, or another language, with consideration of the interests of national groups living in compact settlements in a particular locality, permanent and temporary courses in Uzbek, Russian, or another language, by the creation (when necessary) of classes, groups, and circles in schools, professional-technical schools, and secondary specialized and higher educational institutions, for the instruction of citizens in the native language.

Administrators, educators, and upbringing personnel in preschool and educational institutions shall be proficient in the language of instruction of the relevant institution.

**Article 24. Concerning Old Uzbek Written Literature**

The Uzbek SSR shall provide help to citizens desiring to study the Old Uzbek written literature based on the Arabic script. For these purposes, the appropriate scientific-pedagogical cadres shall be trained and historical-literary sources shall be published.

**Article 25. Guarantees of the Exercise of the Right to an Education**

Citizens of the Uzbek SSR shall be guaranteed the right to obtain a general secondary education in Uzbek or in Russian and, in places where national groups live in compact settlements, in the language of the relevant nationality.

The main languages of instruction in the republic's higher and secondary specialized educational institutions shall be Uzbek and Russian and, where the appropriate conditions require, other languages as well.

**Article 26. The Compulsory Study of Languages**

The Uzbek SSR shall provide citizens with instruction in the Uzbek language as a compulsory subject of the

curriculum in general-education schools, vocational-technical schools, and secondary specialized and higher educational institutions where instruction is not conducted in Uzbek, and also instruction in the Russian language as a compulsory subject of the curriculum in general-education schools, vocational-technical schools, and secondary specialized and higher educational institutions where instruction is not conducted in Russian, with a graduation examination to be conducted in the relevant language.

For national groups living in compact settlements in the republic, conditions shall be created for the study of their native language in general-education schools, in courses of study, and in circles.

#### **Article 27. The Language of Scientific Work**

The Uzbek SSR shall ensure the free choice of the language of scientific work and shall guarantee the right of submitting scientific works and defending them in pursuance of a scientific degree in Uzbek or any other language, in accordance with the capabilities of scientific institutions and academic councils.

In order to develop and perfect the language of science, measures shall be taken in the Uzbek SSR to compile scientific-technical and social-political terminology in the Uzbek language.

#### **Article 28. The Language of Education Methodology, Artistic, and Scientific-Technical Literature and the Mass Media**

The Uzbek SSR shall provide for the publication of educational methodological, artistic, and scientific-technical literature, newspapers and journals, and the propaganda of accomplishments in science and culture by the mass media in Uzbek as well as in Russian and the language of national groups living in compact settlements in the territory of the republic.

Republic television and radio broadcasts shall be conducted primarily in Uzbek as well as in Russian. Television and radio broadcasts shall also be organized in the languages of national groups living in compact settlements in the territory of the Uzbek SSR.

The Uzbek SSR shall promote the creation of films and other audio-visual works in Uzbek, to be translated subsequently into Russian or other languages.

#### **Section VII. Languages of Other Nations and National Groups**

##### **Article 29. Consideration of the Linguistic Interests of Nations and National Groups**

In places of compact settlement, Tajiks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Turkmen, Tatars, Crimean Tatars, Uighurs, Koreans, Turks, Central Asian Jews, and others shall have the right to obtain an education, deal with organs of state

authority and state administration, to press and information materials in their native language, to comprehensive cultural development, and to the creation of national cultural societies and centers.

#### **Section VIII. Names of Administrative-Territorial Units. Personal Names**

##### **Article 30. Names of Administrative-Territorial Units**

In the Uzbek SSR, names of cities, settlements, kishlaks, squares, streets, and other territorial entities, institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall have a single designation in its national form and shall be given in the Uzbek language, with translation into Russian, and, where necessary, the languages of national groups in places of compact settlement.

##### **Article 31. Spelling of Surnames and Personal Names**

The spelling of personal names, fathers' names [otch-estva], and surnames shall be stipulated in appropriate reference books. When converting Uzbek personal names, fathers' names, and surnames into other languages, the specifics of their spelling shall be retained.

In the writing and use of personal names, fathers' names, and surnames, the traditions of nations and nationalities as well as language patterns shall be observed.

#### **Section IX. Signs and Information**

##### **Article 32. Texts of Official Seals, Stamps, and Blanks**

The texts of official seals, stamps, and blanks of institutions, enterprises, and organizations shall be in Uzbek and duplicated in Russian.

The texts of official seals, stamps, and blanks of national cultural societies shall be in Uzbek along with the language they have chosen.

##### **Article 33. Texts of Graphic Information**

Signs, announcements, advertisements, price lists, and other graphic information shall be written in Uzbek and Russian.

Visual information shall be arranged as follows: on the left or on top, text in Uzbek; on the right or below, text in Russian, and executed in letters of the same size. Oral information (advertising, announcements, and so on) shall be given first in Uzbek and then in Russian.

In places where national groups live in compact settlements, the aforementioned visual or oral information may be executed as well in the language of the relevant nationality.

##### **Article 34. Postal and Telegraph Correspondence**

Within the territory of the Uzbek SSR, postal and telegraph correspondence shall be formulated in Uzbek or in Russian; correspondence to be sent outside the republic (except for international materials) shall be in Russian.

#### Article 35. Labels and Markings on Goods

Labels on goods, markings, and instructions for the use of goods manufactured in the Uzbek SSR shall contain the necessary information in Uzbek and in Russian as well as, where necessary, another language.

#### Section X. Responsibility for Violation of Legislation on Languages

##### Article 36. Responsibility for Violation of Legislation on Languages

In the Uzbek SSR, a scornful or hostile attitude toward any national language shall be prohibited. Violation of the right of citizens to the choice of language, deliberate discrimination against citizens on grounds of language, including in the sphere of labor relations, in organs of state authority and administration, in social and voluntary organizations, and in cooperative or other organs; the creation of barriers and restrictions contrary to the constitutional principles of Leninist nationality policy in regard to language use; the institution of privileges; or any other violations of USSR and Uzbek SSR legislation concerning languages, shall be prohibited and shall entail responsibility in accordance with existing legislation.

Officials shall be prohibited from refusing to accept or review proposals, declarations, and complaints on grounds of lack of knowledge of the language, and actions of the sort that hinder citizens' exercise of their right to the free choice of language of upbringing and education shall entail responsibility as stipulated by existing legislation of the USSR and the Uzbek SSR.

#### Section XI. Concluding Provisions

##### Article 37. Observance of the Norms of the Uzbek Language

In spheres of official functioning of the state language, existing norms of the Uzbek literary language shall be observed.

##### Article 38. Procedure for Formulating and Stipulating the Norms of the Uzbek Language

The norms of the Uzbek literary language shall be formulated and stipulated by the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and other organizations empowered to do so. These norms shall go into effect after being approved by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

##### Article 39. Application of the Law

The Uzbek SSR Law on Languages shall be put into effect by stages.

The stages by which the law shall be put into effect, and the organizational and material-technical measures to implement them, shall be determined by the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

#### Uzbek First Secretary Meets With Central Asian Muslim Leader

18300685a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
19 May 89 p 1

[UzTAG report: "Discussion at the Uzbek CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, R. N. Nishanov, received the chairman of the presidium of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the mufti Mukhammad-Sadyk Mukhammad Yusuf.

A discussion took place, in the course of which R. N. Nishanov congratulated the mufti on his election as people's deputy of the USSR and wished him success in his future work as a deputy. He talked about the course of restructuring in the republic, about the measures being undertaken by party, soviet, and economic organs in regard to the acceleration of economic and social development, and he expressed the confidence that the believers will take active part in the solution of the tasks of economic and cultural construction, which require the unity of all forces of society.

Attention was given to the fact that some unlawful actions on the part of fanatically-inclined people take place, cases of the violation of existing legislation on religious cults. Such manifestations are not conducive to the interrelationship between the state and the religious organizations, and in essence prevent the successful implementation of the process of restructuring.

The mufti Mukhammad-Sadyk Mukhammad Yusuf gave information about the results of the kurultay [general assembly] of the Muslims of the region, about the course of implementation of its decisions, and expressed gratitude for returning, to the believers, the Muslim relic of the Koran of Caliph Osman and a number of religious structures, and for the opening of new mosques. He talked about the peacemaking activity of the religious organizations of the Muslims and participation in the "Miloserdie" [Mercy] Program.

In the course of the discussion, other questions were also touched on, which are connected with the further strengthening of inter-religious relations and the role and place of religious organizations in the upbringing of believing citizens in the spirit of loyalty, patriotism, and internationalism.

M. I. Ibragimov, the chairman of the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the meeting.

#### Armenian CP Buro on Internal Procedural, Structural Changes

18300685b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
21 May 89 p 1

[Armenpress report: "At the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] A regular session of the Armenian CP Central Committee Buro took place.

A memorandum of the general department of the Central Committee on the further improvement of the practice of the work with documents and the examination of questions in the Armenian CP Central Committee was examined. It was noted the trend toward the reduction of the number of decrees adopted and the official correspondence between party, soviet and economic organs, and public organizations, and toward the increase of control work is continuing in the apparatus of the Armenian CP Central Committee apparatus. The daily living link of the workers of the apparatus of the Central Committee with the party committees and organizations, as well as with the labor collectives, is growing stronger and is expanding.

The most urgent questions of an organizational-political and ideological character, the development of democratization and glasnost, and work with cadres are being introduced for examination of the Armenian CP Central Committee Buro and Secretariat. A more careful selection of the problems requiring collective discussion is being secured. Many questions are being transmitted for examination of the appropriate soviet and economic organs.

At the same time, certain shortcomings are being overlooked in the structure of problems that are submitted for discussion. Few questions are submitted in regard to the generalization of the experience of the work of party committees and primary organizations in the conditions of restructuring and the development of criticism and self-criticism. In proposing for discussion quite a few urgent problems of socio-economic development, the departments of the Armenian CP Central Committee frequently accent attention exclusively on the economic aspect of the matter. Not always is the principle of a differentiated approach to the exposition of the directives and recommendations being addressed to party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organs observed, and the amalgamation of their functions is being permitted. The execution of such documents is poorly controlled, and their effectiveness is insignificant.

In form and in essence, resolutions must bear a genuinely party character and more thoroughly disclose the political

methods of leadership and the forms of organizational and educational work in the labor collectives. In each one of such documents, the functions and responsibility of party, soviet and economic organs, as well as trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations must be strictly delimited.

It has been recognized as expedient to introduce into practice the preliminary discussion of draft resolutions in the departments of the Central Committee with participation of the members of the elected organs, the commissions which prepared documents, and other interested parties. The discussion assumes the profound analysis of all questions expounded in the draft questions, the collective elaboration of conclusions and proposals. These measures are called upon to raise the quality of the preparation of documents and to reduce the time periods of their examination in the collegial organs.

It was decided henceforth not to ask for written information from party committees and organizations, soviet, trade union, and economic organs, the work of which was heard in the Central Committee. About the results of the implementation of the resolutions in terms of these reports, the appropriate departments of Central Committee will inform the Armenian CP Central Committee after examining the state of affairs in the provinces.

As was noted at the session, it is necessary to improve the quality of information about the execution of resolutions. In their preparation, information should be set forth about the concrete results of the work, and people should not get carried away with the enumeration and detailed description of of the organizational-political measures being carried out.

The Armenian CP Central Committee Buro authorized the adoption of additional measures for the realization of the policy of the party for the restructuring of the party leadership, the improvement of the practice of the work with documents, the increase of their quality, and the reduction of unnecessary paper work.

Other urgent questions of the life of the republic were also examined at the session.

## Officials Seek Advances in Video Availability, VCR Production

### More Video Theaters, VCR's Planned

18300733 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 11 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Oleg Vladimirovich Uralov, general director of the Videofilm All-Union Creative PO, conducted by A. Ladynin: "Timely Interview: Do You Subscribe to the Video Channel?"]

[Text] Video is becoming more and more a part of our everyday lives. Whereas in the past people might have invited us over for tea, today those who own video systems may invite us to their homes to watch a movie. In short, the time has come to interpret this new phenomenon.

Today our guest is Oleg Uralov, general director of the Videofilm All-Union Creative PO, noted movie director and laureate of the USSR State Prize.

[Ladynin] Oleg Vladimirovich, as far as I know many of your plans may seem fantastic, so first of all let us try to assess realistically the current situation and understand why video is needed and how our country differs from the West in this regard.

[Uralov] I think that the present situation is the result of three factors. First of all, working in favor of video's popularity are people's high level of social activism and the diversity of their interests. In contrast to the cinema, television and radio, video can offer people the specific information they want at any given moment.

Secondly, we are justifiably proud of our culture, but without interaction with cultural achievements around the world its development, and I think you will agree, will be one-sided. Not to mention mutual penetration and mutual enrichment of our national cultural traditions. In this regard as well much can be accomplished through the use of videos.

The third factor is the amount and type of equipment available here. In our country there is still only a depressingly small number of privately-owned VCR's. At the present time they number roughly 2.3 million. In order to match the average European level, which is already 50 percent of all households, we would have to have 35 million VCR's (based on a total of 70 million families in our country).

Unfortunately there is no basis to hope that our industry will soon meet the demand for VCR's. I believe I am correct in saying that production of 200,000 units is planned for 1990. That is a drop in the bucket. Furthermore, that "drop" is already very outdated, comparable to mid-1970's technology. In my opinion it would make better sense to buy video equipment from the West: due to overproduction prices for VCR's there at the present time are relatively low, plus the technical level of the Western units is higher. Secondly, let us look ahead a bit

and give some thought to tomorrow as well as today. The future lies with digital and laser technology.

[Ladynin] Thus on the one hand there is considerable interest in video, yet on the other hands there is little reason to hope for rapid change for the better in the current situation. Is it in view of the shortage of video equipment that you have chosen the path of setting up video viewing rooms with projection equipment? Currently, as far as I am aware, there are already more than a thousand of these...

[Uralov] You are absolutely right. But opening video theaters is not the only way we are attempting to solve this problem. There are also other options. I am referring to the establishment of a paid television movie channel. This has already been done in other countries. This channel would function on a subscription basis and be financed by subscriber fees; essentially it would carry only movies, both old and new. As the experience of the French "Plus Channel" has shown, such a channel is very stable, with 94 percent permanent "subscribers." We propose that in our country as well it should be a commercial channel, but not in the Western sense, where profit is the key, but instead in the sense of its means of support being commercial.

Our entire Videofilm Association has purposely made the transition to a lease arrangement, even though we received a subsidy just last year. Quite frankly that was a risky move, but you can believe me when I tell you that it was backed up by economic calculations. You will recall that when Videofilm was established it was originally intended to serve only as a rental agency, yet today we own 40 hours of original programs. This year we are planning to produce 70 hours, 100 hours in 1990, and 300 hours in 1995...

[Ladynin] Just how realistic are all these plans?

[Uralov] They are all realistic. But I do not want your readers to get the impression that everything is easy and simple for us. Here is one example. In Moscow we have opened 20 video theaters, and the Moscow City Soviet did not contribute a single kopeck. Furthermore, the Moscow City Soviet has not yet implemented its decision to provide us with a building to house our technical center, even though that should have been done two years ago. As a result we have no place to store the equipment we have bought with hard currency; we are forced to lease a building in Sokolniki Park. This temporary arrangement does not suit us, nor does it suit the park. Even though we have already invested 250,000 rubles in repairs on the leased building we are constantly being threatened with eviction. Now the State Committee for Cinematography has turned over to us an unfinished, long since abandoned facility in Khimki-Khovrino. We are planning to move there in a couple of years.

But right now Videofilm is operating under very difficult conditions, virtually on enthusiasm alone. The majority of my colleagues have come to us from other studios,

leaving their comfortable positions behind. I myself have not done any film work in two years. But all these hardships are justified by the unique opportunities which have opened up before us. We are the first full-circle cinema enterprise in our country: we control both production and distribution.

One should not forget the social significance of this new undertaking. Videos can facilitate rapid change in the cultural situation in our country. That situation is, it seems to me, a very difficult one. Well, for example, we here in Moscow can only read in the newspapers about many shows presented at Moscow theaters. What about people living in Ryazan, for instance? Just try to get a ticket to the Bolshoi Theater. And it is not just the Bolshoi... The situation is no better for lovers of classical music, even though it has gotten easier to get tickets to rock concerts, for example. Yet we could make videos of all the most noteworthy theatrical premieres and all unique concerts. Video could very successfully compensate for the cultural shortage which we are experiencing.

[Ladynin] Excuse me, Oleg Vladimirovich, but are you not making the mistake of confusing reality with wishful thinking? If you will recall the posters of the "pirate" video viewing rooms, it appears they are showing more and more Westerns and other films that bear little resemblance to art. As for the classics, there is still not very much demand for them at video theaters...

[Uralov] Our sociological study, which we conducted in November of last year, indicated that viewers become satiated with that sort of viewing rather quickly; people who have been using a VCR for more than three years now prefer to watch classics, both foreign and Soviet. And it should be noted that up until now each new generation of moviegoers has been denied the opportunity to see all the best that has been created by our cinematographers. Movie theaters virtually never show these films. Television cannot show everything and, most importantly, it cannot cater to people's individual wishes. Television is aimed more at mass interests, while videos are aimed at **individual** interests. There is also one other very encouraging phenomenon: many VCR owners are interested in educational programs. They are studying foreign languages, learning many new things, finding out about things. In my opinion, in contrast to cinematography video should have more of an educational emphasis...

[Ladynin] Yes, video can be of invaluable use for schools. Not only can physics or chemistry lessons, for instance, be made more graphic through the use of video visual aids, a VCR with a selection of educational programs could also solve the problem of home study, for example for sick children. And is that all? Think about villages far from schools, or tenant farmsteads...

[Uralov] Unfortunately, at this time all I can say is that lessons like that will be a reality in the near future. But

indeed, could not video lessons by innovators and progressive teachers raise substantially the level of education even in the most remote parts of our country? The problem lies with video systems, which are still in short supply, plus the fact that the price of videocassettes could be more affordable. You will agree that at the present price of a videocassette (120 rubles) few people can afford to have their own video library.

[Ladynin] But for now all that is just a dream... What about today?

[Uralov] Well, for example, at our videotheques you can rent at quite reasonable price both classic films from around the world and our original movies, made especially for video. Our collection of foreign masterpieces is also growing constantly.

Now a word about Videofilm productions. Today our system includes seven independent studios. So we are filming both fictional films (for example "Pyat uglov" [Five Corners], which was directed by Valeriy Bunin) and documentary films (such as "Versiya" [The Version], "Stalin s nami?" [Is Stalin With Us?]) and others) and educational films (even, for instance, makeup tips) and the most interesting theatrical premieres (for example "Dorogaya Yelena Sergeyevna" [Dear Yelena Sergeyevna], which was staged by the Moscow Studio Theater on Spartakovskaya Square).

Generally speaking our programs are in demand both among Soviet movie lovers and abroad. In fact, why not watch at home, unhurriedly, going back to various scenes, a new work by a unique and complex director like Aleksandr Sokurov? His latest picture "Spasi i sokhrani" [Save and Protect] belongs to us.

Incidentally, this year for the first time we went to the Cannes Film Festival and entered the movie market for television and video movies. And 40 of our films were successful there, and many of them were purchased... The point is that in the West video movies, i.e. pictures filmed directly on videotape, are also a relatively new art form. We have something to teach one another.

We should not forget the tremendous capabilities of our own culture. It is a good basis for the development of video. For example, we have contracted with our Japanese and British colleagues to make 10 films of ballets at the Bolshoi Theater. A solid partner like the Bolshoi Theater immediately aroused keen interest. And a joint production will guarantee us access to international film markets. Incidentally, for the first time in its history the Bolshoi Theater will receive hard currency royalties for these films. That is very important for the theater: foreign construction companies only work for hard currency. And the Bolshoi Theater building needs repairs and restoration.

Our commercial principle is that we are not striving to earn money just by ourselves. We assume that it is better to do so together with partners.

### Clarification of Permitted Standards Sought

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23 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Belonosov, secretary of Sakhalin CPSU Obkom: "Would Like To Get Out of the Jungle"]

The hullabaloo about videocassettes has spread throughout the whole country. It did not even stop at the Tatar Strait, which separates our country's only island oblast from the mainland: today there are already approximately 3,000 VCR's in the homes of people on Sakhalin and in the Kuril Islands, and dozens of video viewing rooms have been opened. It would seem that one could only be delighted by the wide dissemination of such a convenient and technically advanced channel of information, education and cultural leisure. We are delighted, but unfortunately our joy is often tempered by other emotions. Here is why: even experts are not sufficiently clear on how to deal with the various situations connected with mass video showings, repertoire policy and financial matters.

We are hearing the voice of the public demanding regulation of the video business and erection of barriers against movies which openly promote the cult of cruelty and violence. Most of these complaints are directed at ideological workers. But what can they do, if legislators themselves cannot seem to figure out how to deal with this situation?

I will attempt to back up that thought with facts. Thus, on 25 February 1986 USSR Goskino published its Resolution #63, which stated that "...all video players and recorders are to be registered, regardless of the department or agency to which they belong." This would seem to be an extremely clear situation. But not completely clear, because the subsequent Law on Cooperatives totally ignored Goskino's monopoly on the exhibition of videos. As a result, while discussion about what to do about the videotheques continued local authorities issued permits (all strictly legal!) granting anyone the right to get rich.

In December of last year a resolution was adopted banning certain types of cooperative activity, including the filming and commercial distribution of videotapes; this put video businessmen into a state of shock. It seemed that the situation was being clarified and Goskino's monopoly was finally being restored.

Yet that was not the case. On 13 February of this year a letter was issued concerning registration of videotheques and commercial showing of videotapes; it was signed by N. Sil'kova, USSR deputy minister of culture, V. Makeyev, AUCCTU secretary, and S. Rogozhkin, All-Union Komsomol Central Committee secretary. This document establishes **its own procedure** for the registration of video equipment and the showing of videotapes. Essentially video businessmen are being advised: hang out a different sign and continue as before, your profits unaffected.

It is interesting to note that this situation had a very unexpected continuation: on 11 April 1989 a memorandum from the RSFSR Ministry of Culture was sent out bearing the signature of A. Protsenko, first deputy minister. This document was an attempt to disavow the recommendations issued by higher-level organs. I think that a quote from it would be appropriate at this point: "By continuing their commercial activities under another name, what are in essence cooperative commercial organizations (videotheques—V. B.) are doing great harm to the upbringing of children and young people..."

"This practice, which is in our opinion harmful and confusing, was reinforced by a memorandum sent out in February of this year by secretaries of the AUCCTU and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, as well as the USSR deputy minister of culture... USSR Goskino, which has a legally established monopoly on the production and commercial exhibition of all movies, was not consulted about the letter..."

"This letter cannot serve as a legal document for all territorial organs of Soviet authority, as the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and the AUCCTU are public organizations..."

The irony of the situation lies in the fact that even though the memorandum from the RSFSR Ministry of Culture is perhaps closer to the truth it also "cannot serve as a legal document." As I was preparing these comments I read an article by A. Pokhmelkin, candidate of juridical sciences, entitled "'Criminal' Video Production" in the magazine SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST (1988, No 11). It contained a new twist on this subject: reference was made to criminal prosecution for illegal distribution of videotapes. Here is what the article stated: "...The USSR Procuracy has tallied the initial and, quite frankly, rather discouraging results of this struggle. As a result of a review of criminal cases heard by courts in the Ukraine, Kirghizia, Lithuania and a number of oblasts and krais in the Russian Federation it was determined that almost 60 percent of those penalized were convicted without sufficient justification. Without exception all the cases of unjustified conviction were due to the fact that the movies being distributed were not pornographic and did not promote the cult of violence and cruelty. The absence of clear-cut criteria for evaluation led to errors in studies conducted by experts and eventually to the imposition of unjust sentences." We seem to have arrived at a dead end. If highly skilled jurists have difficulty determining whether a movie is harmful or not, then what are we at the local level supposed to do? Who will guide us out of this memorandum jungle?

In this connection I would like to appeal to V. G. Zakharova, USSR minister of culture, B. V. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice, and A. Ya. Sukharev, USSR Procurator General: when, esteemed comrades, will we see a clear-cut legislative act regarding the production and distribution of films on video? A document which would facilitate real development of video in our country

while preserving public organizations' independence in this regard and also providing local soviets with real regulatory and monitoring mechanisms? The main purpose of such a document would be to encourage a situation in which socialist ideological influence on viewers would outstrip the growth in the number of VCR's, and not the other way around.

### Changes in Media, Religion, State Relationship Debated

#### 'Pro-Religion' Media Bias Blasted

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No 4, Apr 89 pp 9-11

[Article by Aleksey Bykovskiy: "An Abnormal Symbiosis"]

[Text] A. Bykovskiy, an instructor at the University of Marxism-Leninism of the Voronezh CPSU Obkom, sent ZHURNALIST an article which criticizes the reports by our press on questions of religion and atheism. We recommend to readers this article and the commentary written at the editorial staff's request by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences L. Mitrokhin.

Lenin's work "Socialism and Religion," which was the basis for the "Decree on Separation of Church and State and of School and Church" and Soviet legislation on religious cults, states: "We require that religion be a private matter with respect to the state, but we cannot at all consider religion a private matter with respect to our own party. The state should not care about religion, and religious societies should not be associated with state power." But what do we see today in actuality? Religion and all the ideological activities of religious organizations still remain antiscience, idealistic, and contrary to Marxist-Leninist ideology. But in some organs of our state, this axiom has been forgotten. An erosion of socialist, and in particular atheist, ideological content is taking place. Some abnormal symbiosis is being created between religious organizations and certain organs of the press, radio, and television.

Confirmation of this is the fact that religious persons have taken rather strong stands in the mass media and freely propagandize religion. They do not miss a chance to spoon out their ointment on our socialist society, rather openly and persistently seeking to restore the pre-revolution status of the church under conditions of a Soviet state.

I will turn to facts to back up my statement.

In the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY (No 23, 1988), Metropolitan Vladimir, answering a correspondent's question about how legislation on cults should be improved, says: "First of all, new legislation should conform to Lenin's decree on the church... The choice by any citizen of religion, atheism, or an indifferent attitude toward them must be made on a purely voluntary basis." But you see, this is exactly how we do it! The provisions

of "Lenin's Decree on the Church" have been developed in the legislation on cults; in particular, the paragraph about the church not having the rights of a juridical person has become invalid. No coercion over a person's conscience or infringement on a personality is permitted; on the contrary, this is punished under Article 228 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. But such infringements do take place on the part of some clergymen and sectarians. Metropolitan Vladimir further says: "Legislation should prevent artificial division of citizens into believers and nonbelievers." But where does he see such a division? Apparently, in the fact that not all of the population goes to church? That is freedom of conscience in action. It is not hard to understand what Vladimir wants. I only doubt whether certain journalists and press organs understand this.

The statements of V. Sorokin, rector of the Leningrad Spiritual Academy and professor of theology, in an interview with a correspondent of MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA (30 March 1988) are of the same nature. Theologian Sorokin shamelessly distorts the Soviet legislation on religious cults, stating that this legislation prohibits charitable activities of the church. The legislation does contain this provision: "Religious associations are prohibited from...providing material support to their members." Apparently, this prohibition does come down to charitable activities. But, you see, religious organizations voluntarily transfer their free money to various social funds. Is this not charity? It is something else to give believers a loan to purchase cows, houses, to help set up a household, or for treatment, which some religious communities try to do and which is prohibited by law. These functions are accomplished by the state, trade unions, kolkhozes, and enterprises. If the church makes monetary handouts, this will bring new types of machinations in the communities and will contribute to the development of begging and a parasitic way of life, poverty, and vagrancy, which are already too prevalent in religious communities.

But V. Sorokin places special emphasis on transferring to the guardianship of the church homes for the aged and invalids, hospitals, and so forth. It is obvious that he clearly dreams of restoring the church's pre-revolution status in the USSR with its asylums, madmen, hysterical women, and beggars, to whom the church gave handouts and created for itself a halo of mercy and thereby strengthened its positions in the society.

The new weekly SEMYA publishes "Cheti Minei" without scientific comments, and thereby forces them on the Soviet reader as the source of our morality. But now every school child knows that it is not religion that gave people the rules that set universal moral standards. They were developed by the popular masses in the course of historical development. And religion borrowed moral standards from the people, giving them a mystical coloration. The articles "The Life of Princess Olga" and "The Life of Prince Vladimir," published in SEMYA, are given unequivocally as an example to follow. But

why follow these examples: cruelty, polygamy, mass murders, and then you will be forgiven and canonized if you accept Christianity?

The All-Union Radio also has not refrained from ideological distortions. Thus, in August, the program "Moldavian Literature" was broadcast. On the program, the short story "Samarityanka" by I. Drutse was read, in which the author and a priest grieved over the closing of 1,500 churches and certain monasteries in Moldavia, regretted the decline in the religiousness of the people, and linked it to the increase in drunkenness, the birth of mentally retarded children, and the emergence of special nurseries for them.

Central Television commits even greater distortions.

Just take the broadcast "Symbols of Eternal Love: Cathedrals" (January 1988). One expected and very much wanted to learn from this broadcast the history of the emergence of the Moscow cathedrals, their architectural peculiarities. But it was not so much about cathedrals as it was about their religious symbols and the religious content of the icons located in them. For example: "Here is depicted Mikhail Arkhistratig—the patron of fighting men, fighter of evil, protector of truth on earth, deliverer from trouble, eradicator of evil on earth, the angel-protector of Rus, he waits for all who suffer and year for purification." Well, how does this all differ from medieval obscurantism? And why present it on TV?

On 2 March of last year, a dialog of alleged scientists on the topic of "Philosophical Discussions" was broadcast. Among them was a theologian in his frock and with a cross on his chest; he spoke in a highly sensitive and emotional manner, but from antiscientific, demagogic positions. And apparently not by chance, at the end they came to the unintelligible conclusion that "in today's complex international situation, a unified, integral world outlook will save the world." What is this—a mixture of communism with religion? You see, K. Marx wrote that the salvation of humanity is in the abolition of private property. Or was he wrong?

On 26 March, the program "Religion and Politics" reported on the completion of restoration of the cathedral at the Danilov Monastery, timed to coincide with the thousandth anniversary of the christening of Rus. Here they showed a divine service dedicated to this event, the church choir sings impressively, and an iconostasis and the entire service are displayed on the screens for a long time. The same was repeated that day on the program "Before and After Midnight," with the addition of showing the divine service performed by the patriarch. But, you see, this entire action by television is a violation of the Leninist principles of the attitude toward religion and the church, and ignores Article 52 of the USSR Constitution in relation to the separation of church and state. The head of the program, breathless with ecstasy, expounded: "The Novodevichiy Monastery, Troitskiy Cathedral, Preobrazhenskiy Monastery, and others envelop the very heart of Moscow with a

bright stone necklace of grandeur, beauty, and wisdom, in which the Danilov Monastery is the most precious pearl in it."

You constantly hear mention over television about who was baptized or married where: "The church in Moscow where A.S. Pushkin was married is being restored," or "V.I. Vernadskiy was born in Leningrad and baptized in Isaakiyevskiy Cathedral." Why have these reports become mandatory; are they really so important to our history or to the biography of these prominent people? Hardly. More likely, this is either a reflection of the pro-church sentiments of the authors, or considerations of the moment, or simply a longing to show their knowledgeability.

But on the program "View," the priest Mark has become already a constant partner and ideological comrade in arms of the head of the show, Mukusev, on social and moral problems. Obviously, our glorious Komsomol, in the person of Mukusev, does not want to talk about these problems with scientists—philosophers, atheists, psychologists. For some reason, the Komsomol member (and, perhaps, even Communist) Mukusev servilely addresses him as "Father Mark." It is as if all this is taking place not in a Soviet television studio but in the church where Mukusev is either a cleric or a parishioner.

The program "View" (5 May 88) showed the baptism process in a Baltic community with religious chants and prayers. Both this demonstration and the reporters' interview of people newly baptized evoke bewilderment. Question: "Has something changed in you since this moment?" The young lad answers: "Yes, I have taken Christ into my heart." Question: "Why were you baptized?" Another lad answers: "So I can always be with God." Then Mukusev began asking "Father Mark" questions which simply challenged and encouraged the priest to freely propagandize his religious views. At the same time, "Father Mark" justified the need for such TV programs: "The subject of religion is steadily bursting into our lives, on the television screens. And how can it be otherwise, you see, it (religious life) exists. Baptists exist, and there is no need to close our eyes to this... You see, they discriminated against Baptists, there were deprivations of parental rights to Baptist faith, they forcibly took children out of houses of prayer..." and so forth in this vein. But, first of all, Father Mark is not accurate: parental rights were deprived not for their faith but for violating the law. Secondly, religious life was and is, religious activities are carried out in families and in prayer rooms, but on what grounds in defiance of the USSR Constitution and for what purpose is it drawn to the television screens? Thirdly, what goals is Mukusev pursuing: communist education of young people or religious instruction? For whom and why is this empty demagoguery of Mukusev with "Father Mark" necessary and useful? In any case, not the Soviet young people.

All these and similar performances are distinguished by one particular feature: their authors and organizers do not differentiate the political and ideological aspects.

They simply do not understand that, today, there are two aspects in every religion: political and ideological. In the political aspect in our country, the Russian Orthodox Church, loyal organizations of Islam, Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, and others behave loyally, support the policy of the Soviet state, advocate peace and nuclear disarmament, and take patriotic stands. All this serves the interests of our people, is an object of cooperation with the state, and is good citizenship. But in the ideological aspect, in any religion there remains a mysticism, ideological content, an antiscientific nature, and an opposition to communist ideology. And this interferes with the dissemination of scientific knowledge and the formation of materialistic convictions, and impedes the social and political activeness of people. Therefore, there should be no ideological concessions, reconciliation, and indifference toward religion. You see, it is not by chance that, at the reception of Patriarch Pimen and the members of the synod, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that we have different world-outlook positions than the clergy.

All of the above has the nature of flirting with the clergy, with religion, and evokes among students of our university of Marxism-Leninism bewilderment, a confusion of their thoughts and feelings. It is difficult to answer their questions, and there is nowhere to find an explanation for these performances. At the same time, some ideological workers are disoriented by the fact that in 1988 there were only two atheistic articles—in KOMMUNIST issue No 4 (the editorial "Socialism and Religion") and in PRAVDA on 28 January (the lead article "History and Morality"), not counting the magazine NAUKA I RELIGIYA, of course. There were no other articles on atheistic topics. Therefore, it is not by chance that in many VUZes of the city of Voronezh, the course on the fundamentals of scientific atheism has been excluded from the curriculum.

In the new version of the CPSU Program adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, in the area of ideological and educational work, atheistic education advanced side by side with the formation of a scientific world outlook in all Soviet people, the basis of which is Marxism-Leninism, side by side with labor education, legal, patriotic, and international education, and the struggle against bourgeois ideology and any manifestations of hostile ideology and morality. In light of these tasks, the demands on the mass media, which V.I. Lenin imposed on the magazine POD ZNAMENEM MARKSIZMA, take on special significance. Lenin believed: "...a magazine that wants to be an organ of militant materialism must be a fighting organ, above all, in the sense of steadfastly exposing and pursuing all contemporary 'lackeys of clericalism who have degrees,' regardless of whether they speak as representatives of official science or as freelancers calling themselves the 'democratic left or ideological and socialist' columnists."

This is the direction given by the CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On the Work of Party Organs of Ulyanovsk Oblast To Implement the Resolution 'On

Restructuring the System of Political and Economic Training of Workers'" published in PRAVDA (14 August 1988). There, it specifically states: "...in all levels of public education and mass propaganda, it is necessary to increase attention to atheistic education on a scientific basis, inculcate in young people an immunity to religious mysticism, and develop a materialistic world outlook."

The above-named and similar articles and radio and TV broadcasts of a pro-church nature clearly do not conform to these Leninist party requirements. The question automatically comes up: Who stands to gain from this?

### New Attitudes Defended

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[Article by Lev Mitrokhin: "Religion and Perestroika"]

[Text] A. Bykovskiy's article is not simply personal opinion. "All of the above has the nature of flirting with the clergy, with religion, and evokes among students of our university of Marxism-Leninism bewilderment, a confusion of their thoughts and feelings. It is difficult to answer their questions, and there is nowhere to find an explanation for these performances."

Well, in his own way, the author is right. The topic of religion today has appeared in a new way. Not so long ago, it was rarely mentioned and, as a rule, for only one purpose—to call for improving atheistic education. Now they are constantly talking about religion, and the authors are increasingly more often clergymen and the believers themselves. The nature of articles has also changed. Before, they were saturated with undisguised ill will, and on the covers of popular atheistic works were drawn spiders, scorpions, and other harmful insects. Today, on the contrary, the church is drawn in splendorous tones, and the unmaskings are addressed to "scientific atheists," who are blamed for the lack of spirituality, the decline in morals, and the barbaric destruction of cultural monuments.

The frailty of the atheistic line of reasoning, which just yesterday seemed unassailable, has also suddenly become clear. The "militant atheists" have somehow died down; the topic has been taken up by aggressive journalists, writing without second thoughts not only for inveterate dogmas but also often, alas, for reliable knowledge. As a result, there indeed is observed among the propagandists of atheism a mass (not just in Voronezh) "bewilderment, a confusion of thoughts and feelings." Some feel betrayed, others have begun to wait for further orders, without which they never would have thought of fighting God. "Atheism" has not simply gone out of style, it has almost become a dirty word.

This article is a reaction to all these changes. The author must be given credit: not everyone would dare to promulgate such a hard-line position. In its own way, it is whole in nature. This is a wholeness of a special attitude, a special perception of those radical changes that are

being made in our society. And it is precisely this symptomatic content that merits public attention.

So there is no need to go into detail about the specifics and individual stylistics of the author. It is more important to try to assess the vector, the social trend of such a position. In doing so, naturally, I do not at all lay claim to infallibility or categoricalness of opinions "on behalf of Marxism": the processes involved are too complex and contradictory.

As one can see, the article touches upon two spheres of problems: 1. The Soviet state's attitude toward religion and the state (the legal aspect). 2. The Communist Party's attitude toward religion and the church, and the work of the mass media associated with this attitude (the ideological aspect).

The article cites the desires of the "clergy" regarding improving the legislation on cults: it is necessary that "new legislation conform to Lenin's decree on the church," that the "choice by any citizen of religion, atheism, or an indifferent attitude toward them" be made "on a purely voluntary basis," and that the legislation "prevent artificial division of citizens into believers and nonbelievers." All these desires are sternly assessed as "fabrications," as a desire "to to spoon out their ointment on our socialist society" and to seek "to restore the pre-revolution status of the church under conditions of a Soviet state," since, the author claims, "this is exactly how we do it!"

These arguments seem strange to me. Everyday we learn from history about new facts of violation of the law, about mass terror and starvation, about the arbitrariness of law enforcement bodies, about the imperfection of legal standards, and about the disparity between word and deed. But all this, it turns out, does not apply to the sphere of religion, and anyone who thinks otherwise is slandering noble social sentiments...

We will have to look back at the first years following the October Revolution, inevitably omitting many details, including some quite significant ones. The active counterrevolutionary activities of church organizations inevitably also evoked extreme retaliatory measures: the closing of churches and monasteries, the dispersal of prayer meetings, repressions toward the clergy and believers who were (or were suspected of being) in collusion with anti-Soviet forces. The hatred toward "priests" that accumulated over centuries resulted in unbridled, destructive actions and persecution of believers for their feelings. The lack of readiness of local party and soviet workers, inclined to resolve everything by "forceful" methods, also had an effect—despite warnings of the party and the provisions of Lenin's Decree on Separation of Church and State. In other words, the attitude toward the church and religion appeared as a critical political problem, going far beyond a world-outlook confrontation.

By the end of the 1920's, however, all the main religious organizations had declared their loyalty to Soviet power.

All the prerequisites were being created to eliminate previous mistakes and excesses. As we know, this did not happen: the process of firmly establishing the gloomy autocracy of Stalin began.

Have we gone too far back into history? I think not. "The provisions of 'Lenin's Decree on the Church,'" the article states, "have been developed in the legislation on cults; in particular, the paragraph about the church not having the rights of a juridical person has become invalid." I will talk a little later about the "juridical person," but for now let us note a significant fact. Interrelations of church and state up to now have been governed by the resolution of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR "On Religious Associations," adopted on 8 April 1929. It is this resolution that states the provisions that "religious societies and groups of believers do not enjoy the right of a juridical person" (Article 3), the conditions of restoration and the right to refuse it, the ban on giving "material support to its members," the prohibition on organized religious instruction for children, and so forth. True, certain changes were later made to the resolution, but its essence has been fully preserved.

The resolution is at least ambiguous in nature. Outwardly, it is phrased in the direction of the 1918 Decree, but its specific standards directly or indirectly govern every step of the church and do not contain guarantees for observing even those rights which it does declare. Subsequent events showed that the clergy and believers, perhaps, most often fell victim to Stalin's arbitrary rule.

True, they may object: even in the 1930's the party repeatedly cautioned against violent actions with respect to the church. Indeed, there was no shortage of words. Thus, the resolution of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) Central Committee "On Struggling with Distortions of the Party Line in the Kolkhoz Movement" condemned "totally intolerable distortions of the party line in the area of combating religious prejudices... We have in mind the *administrative* closure of churches without the consent of the vast majority of the village, usually leading to an increase in religious prejudices."

Just when was this engaging appeal to take into account the "vast majority of the village" proclaimed? Hard to believe, but it was on 14 March 1930! Yes, during "that very time." And in addition to the caution against "letting success go to one's head" and the hypocritical "the son is not responsible for the father," it became another example of the cynical demagoguery of that time. Difference between the high-sounding declarations and the "practical" orders, official laws and instruction "for official use," in short, between word and deed, became increasingly sinister in nature, and it is not by chance that the so-called "blank spots" in history ooze with the color of blood. And what "separation" of the church can there be if the census sheet for 1937 contained a direct question about attitude toward religion! (If you recall, this column was eliminated at the direct insistence of

V.I. Lenin during the 1920 census.) It was the clergy and the believers who were cited as favorite examples for justifying the famous thesis on aggravation of class struggle.

When the war began, Stalin broke up the Union of Militant Atheists with its 3 million members and in 1942 restored the patriarchy. But soon thereafter, the "forceful" methods with respect to the church again prevailed. They were not affected by the capricious Khrushchev "thaw", and after the 22nd Party Congress (1960), which adopted the program on building communism in 20 years, they prevailed on a large scale: communism does not call for religion. The problem was resolved by the customary administrative-bureaucratic means, namely: the illegal closing of churches. No churches—no religion! In several years their number decreased by almost 10,000. During the so-called years of stagnation, a similar style was preserved. The registration of new communities, which was given the nature of a permit, was made increasingly difficult. And local authorities resisted registration in every possible way, since they believed it indicated blunders in educational work.

At times, administrative-bureaucratic methods are associated with the figure of a narrow-minded official shuffling papers. How naive! Red tape is a precise social philosophy: people are an appendage of administrative structures. They themselves are obtuse, restricted, and only the boss knows what they must do, what should make them happy, and when to applaud to a stupor.

This notion is especially vivid with respect to religion. We build a socialist society and form a "new man" with a scientific world outlook. The believers are an annoying cost of history, a social rudiment subject to planned elimination. Religious ideas, feelings, hopes were an echo from the "past" and should not be taken seriously. The main thing was that they not interfere with the peaceful life of those who report and sound the social bugles. It is hard for me to get rid of the thought that this approach is also present in A. Bykovskiy's article. It is otherwise difficult to explain, for example, the statement that "no coercion over a person's conscience or infringement on a personality is permitted; on the contrary, this is punished under Article 228 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR."

To whom is this addressed? To the millions of believers who have seen their churches closed and destroyed, to the Pentacostals, to the Adventist-Reformists, to the Jehovah's Witnesses, who in accordance with the 1961 instructions were automatically refused registration and subjected to persecutions? To the believers who fell victim to the arbitrariness of the courts and directors of enterprises and educational institutions (quite a few such cases have been reported in our press), to the religious societies that even today are unsuccessful in seeking registration and granting of prayer facilities? But maybe (which would be worst of all) this statement is intended to eliminate the "confusion of feelings and thoughts" in

propagandists so they can bring embellished views to a mass audience, and then be surprised over why the audience loses interest in such trustworthy views?

I will not pick at inaccuracies: Article 227 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR dated 27 October 1960 defines punishment for infringement upon a personality and the rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites. Obviously, he has in mind Article 142—"Violation of the Law on Separation of Church and State and of School and Church." It indeed provides for harsh punishment and is directed against illegal actions both by religious figures and by officials. In particular, it considers it a violation to "refuse to hire or admit citizens in an educational institution, fire them from a job or dismiss them from an educational institution, deprive citizens of benefits and privileges prescribed by law, as well as other significant restrictions of citizens' rights depending on their attitude toward religion." There is also Article 143—"Hindering the Performance of Religious Rites."

Since this code was adopted, quite a number of religious activists have been convicted under Article 142. This article was unable, however, to prevent crimes by officials. Is it not because not a single case of severe punishment of them has been recorded in the past quarter of a century?

Today, church leaders are stubbornly seeking the right to philanthropic activities. This is primarily caused by the needs of life within the church. Thus, clergymen receive no pension from either the state or from trade unions, and the church is refused this right. A religious association also does not have the right to provide material assistance to particularly needy believers: invalids, the aged, people who are alone, and so forth. This is a vital problem for a quite numerous category of Soviet citizens, and it is unjust to replace it with arguments about church donations to various funds. And the author's assurance that a favorable resolution of this problem would inevitably result in criminal consequences seemed to me to be clearly insulting for the believers.

The situation is similar with the mission of mercy. The church is not at all raising the issue of transferring to it "homes for the aged and invalids, hospitals, and so forth." It is a matter of believers helping to care for the gravely ill, those who are alone, invalids, and the like. I think that there is such a need in the Voronezh hospitals, too. Is it possible that the spirit of mercy and unselfish assistance has become eroded in us to the extent that we are unable to believe in the sincerity of its manifestations in other and are sure to see them as "nostalgia," "a dream of restoration," and a hypocritical desire to seek false "halos of mercy"?

The author also perceives as slander the church's request to be granted the right of a juridical person, since the refusal of this right has "lost validity." Yes, in practice the church usually enjoys this right, but only de facto. And until it becomes de jure, the church has no reliable

guarantees for it. Generally speaking, it is somehow awkward to mention this now, when the task is being set to create a legal state.

A. Bykovskiy is particularly dissatisfied by the coverage of the status of religion in our country. In his opinion, what we have is "some abnormal symbiosis between religious organizations and certain organs of the press, radio, and television," and "religious persons have taken rather strong stands in the mass media and freely propagandize religion," and with malicious goals.

Such opinions do not occur in a blank space. They one way or another reflect the sharp change in public opinion's image of religion, which was mentioned above. There is not the slightest opportunity even to talk even in a cursory manner about the reasons for the increased sympathy toward the church and believers, and the decline in prestige of straightforward attacks aiming to expose religion (although considering the policy of glasnost, democratization, the struggle against a barbaric attitude toward cultural monuments, and so forth, they are fairly obvious). The new situation, of course, could not help but be reflected in the work of the mass media: religion has become their desired subject. However, coverage of this recent "blank spot" was often done on an amateurish level, and sometimes clearly given tribute as frivolous sensationalism.

This was also demonstrated in connection with the thousandth anniversary of the christening of Rus, when journalists spoke out very often, and were not always steady regarding theological interpretations and the anniversary euphoria. As a result, that truly decisive role which Christianity played as a new world religion in developing domestic culture overshadowed the true historical character of the church, which, being soldered into the structures of czarist power, mercilessly spoke out against any free thought and cruelly persecuted kindred "brothers in Christ" if they searched for God "not in logs but in ribs," not to mention the social protest movements. So, some the level of some materials turned out to be below the works not only of Russian revolutionary democrats, but also of pre-October liberal-bourgeois critics of the church. The festive voice of the TV announcer sticks in my mind: "We celebrate the thousandth anniversary of the christening of Rus as the thousandth anniversary of the Russian culture"—an unfounded statement from the scientific standpoint.

The activities of generations of atheists were drawn in a oversimplified, cartoon form. As was already stated, they were blamed for all sins, including the destruction of churches and persecution of believers. The past, however, was more complicated and more tragic: the majority of atheists were deceived in sincere intentions; they were simply used to justify the Draconian policy that was carried out, and later were loaded into the same prisoner trains as the clergy. I am not talking about the attempts to equate atheism as a legacy of Stalinism. No, atheism is the product of a centuries-old culture, its organic and

integral element. Knowledge and the forces of generations of the noblest minds, including Russian, criticized religion. Disregarding this tradition is as much an intolerable "break" with the past as ignoring, say, religious and philosophical teachings.

In short, in talk about religion and the church, we still have much that is not thoroughly thought through, frivolous, and one-sided. Certainly, this is inevitable: it is a new matter, there are not enough qualified experts, and therefore it is extremely necessary to have constructive criticism, advice, and recommendations. We find a number of them in the article. Indeed, it is more natural to address the priest by his first name and patronymic, and the weekly SEMYA is an inappropriate place for the article (moreover without serious commentary) "Cheti Minei."

However, it seems to me that the fervor of the article lies elsewhere: in denouncing the very fact of a reliable story about our religious situation, especially from the mouths of clergy and believers themselves. The author believes that the "Soviet person" does not need to know the feelings and sufferings of the believers, since for a socialist society they represent not only a foreign but a harmful element. Such an approach, it seems to me, is the result of combining the dogmatism of recent decades and the illusions of critics of religion before Marx.

For example, the article states that "Cheti Minei" cannot be "forced on the Soviet reader as the source of our morality," and I can agree with this. But then his line of reasoning evokes surprise. "...it is not religion that gave people the rules that set universal moral standards. They were developed by the popular masses in the course of historical development. And religion borrowed moral standards from the people, giving them a mystical coloration."

But who, one may ask, developed religion if not the popular masses themselves? Otherwise one will have to conclude that it came either from a revelation from above, or from a conspiracy of "tyrants and priests" pursuing their selfish goals. It was precisely the latter explanation that prevailed before Marx.

The impression is such that a trace of it also creeps into the assessments A. Bykovskiy gives the work of the mass media.

The dominant and recurring theme is the same: Our citizens to not need religion, belief in God occurs primarily at the urging of preachers of religion, and therefore we must "protect" the audience in every way possible from expressions of such views, since this means propagandizing antiscientific, harmful ideas.

This precepts often leads to quite strange arguments. An example of this is the assessment of "Philosophical Discussions." Why does he talk about "alleged scientists"? The discussions are led by prominent representatives of our culture. The author is particularly outraged by the participation of a "theologian in his frock and

with a cross": "Apparently not by chance, at the end they came to the unintelligible conclusion that 'in today's complex international situation, a unified, integral world outlook will save the world.' What is this—a mixture of communism with religion? You see, K. Marx wrote that the salvation of humanity is in the abolition of private property. Or was he wrong?" I have to write this rhetoric off to the polemics of ardor; otherwise I would have to reproach the author for an obvious lack of understanding of the importance of universal values, the combining of efforts of all people to ensure the survival of mankind, in short, the specific nature of the spiritual situation in the uneasy nuclear age.

The line of reasoning about the churches in which A.S. Pushkin was married and V.I. Vernadskiy was baptized is comical. In the author's opinion, such information is hardly mandatory and important "to our history or to the biography of these prominent people." More likely, this is "either a reflection of the pro-church sentiments of the authors, or considerations of the moment, or simply a longing to show their knowledgeability."

Of course, I can concede that some people may not be interested in where Pushkin was married, others may not care where he was born, and still others may be indifferent about his early poetry or rough drafts.

However, it does no good to turn subjective tastes into rules for giving everyone access to culture. Then you invite rigid instructions on this account, and perhaps a special department for developing them. And in it they ponder: Can it reflect undesirably on the consciousness of Soviet people the fact that Gogol wrote "Selected Pieces from Correspondence with Friends," that Lev Tolstoy advocated evangelical morality, that Martin L. King served as a Baptist preacher, that P. Florenskiy was a prominent thinker, and that they held a funeral service for Anna Akhmatova in a church? This information is only "for official use," for special keeping. As far as the "Soviet people" and "Soviet young people" are concerned, they supposedly do not need such information. Need he be reminded that we have cultivated precisely such an approach for decades?

We have become accustomed to saying over and over again that our religion is a "remnant of the past," "blemishes made by capitalism," that belief in God has no social roots, and so forth. We repeated this because we believed that it cannot be otherwise under socialism. However, let us consider the words of Marx: "...**Religion will disappear** as socialism develops." But, what if the process of development was replaced by a period of stagnation, what if the principles of party and state activities were seriously deformed? There should be no illusions: religious ideas emerge and are reproduced because there are people who sense a need for them. These ideas are an "internal" product of our society, a "living" component of the spiritual life of many Soviet citizens. And as long as things are this way, the church will exist, satisfying such vital needs.

How many believers are there in our country? There may be several tens of millions, not counting people who sympathize with them. If I understood correctly, the author is inclined to refuse them the right to state their convictions and feelings publicly so as not to spoil the poster picture. And there is no need to exaggerate: the fact that speeches of the clergy and believers are broadcast over television or in the press is no violation of the Decree.

The article mentions the program "View," which tells about the baptism of Baptists and has an interview by a reporter with newly baptized young people. "For whom and why is this empty demagoguery of Mukusev with 'Father Mark' necessary? In any case, not the Soviet young people?" Well, it is curious to meet a man who can speak on behalf of Soviet young people. But it is unclear: Weren't the people the reporter interviewed "Soviet young people"? If you follow the author's logic, they were not. And their statements, apparently, were nothing more than "empty demagoguery." But the point is, if you ponder it, this is just what is called insulting the feelings of believers.

Fostering a materialistic world outlook incompatible with religious ideas—this is a program and prescribed requirement of the Communist Party. Therefore, a communist should not wait for additional instructions, but should carry out his atheistic duty, which he himself voluntarily assumed when he joined the party.

I repeat, I had no intention of entering into personal polemics with A. Bykovskiy. This is a matter of disagreeing with the certain stereotype of attitude toward religion which remains both steadfast and aggressive. This should be no surprise. For too long we have been convinced that the church is the bearer of antisocialist ideology; we saw the priest as "alien" and the believer as a "second-class" person so that these ideas did not prevail over others. It is impossible in a few years to reject them and to learn to creatively approach the atheistic legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. But sooner or later this will have to be done. As Marx wrote, "the educator must also be educated."

The article concludes with this: "...The above-named and similar articles and radio and TV broadcasts of a pro-church nature clearly do not conform to these Leninist party requirements. The question automatically comes up: Who stands to gain from this?" I have already stated my opinion about this characterization. However, I should add that we are not putting on a trial, but are building a society where man is the supreme value—and not only the atheist; therefore, the criterion of "who stands to gain" is far from the best one. If we are talking about changes in attitude toward believers and about ensuring them an opportunity to express their views with dignity, one can respond in this way: this contributes to uniting the Soviet people, ensuring civil rights, humanizing human relations, and, in the final analysis, the cause of revolutionary transformation of our society. We should again consider Lenin's tenet from that same work "Socialism and Religion": "Unity of this truly revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class to create a paradise on earth is more

important to us than a unity of opinions of proletarians about a paradise in heaven."

A. Bykovskiy's concern is quite understandable: the atheistic orientation of our press has clearly declined.

But we can hardly overcome this by the methods which the author counts on in the article in ZHURNALIST.

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### Georgian Procuracy Reviews Recent Illegal Land Appropriations

18300738 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
20 Jun 89 p 2

[Interview with Georgian Procurator Vakhtang Razmadze by Irina Inovel: "Land Use: The Law and Its Enforcement"]

[Text] The Georgian SSR Procuracy has detected numerous instances of violations of land legislation by particular organizations and citizens with the connivance of ispolkoms of local Soviets of Peoples Deputies. An analysis of the causes of this phenomenon is the theme of a conversation between ZARYA VOSTOKA's correspondent and Georgian Procurator Vakhtang Razmadze.

[Inovel] Vakhtang Apollonovich, what prompted the blanket investigation of the enforcement of legislation concerning land use?

[Razmadze] Last year the republic's Procuracy began to receive numerous complaints about gross violations of passport regulations, land use legislation, and individual housing construction in Marneuli Rayon. An investigation conducted in June of last year fully confirmed these facts. So it was decided at that time to conduct similar investigations in other regions of the republic.

[Inovel] Does it appear that the picture that emerges enables us to trace certain general tendencies in this matter?

[Razmadze] It must be stated, unfortunately, that the tendencies are basically negative in character. Instead of taking timely steps to expose and eradicate widespread illegal land appropriations, rayispolkoms, local MVD organs, and architectural, planning, and development offices have taken the opposite stance: that of cover-up, toleration, and sometimes outright connivance with the unlawful actions. In a number of regions, procuratorial supervision on this matter has been quite unsatisfactory. As a result of all this, over the span of quite a long time, even many decades, numerous unlawful settlements have been established in Kartli, Kakheti, the Abkhazian ASSR, the South Ossetian AO, and certain other parts of the republic.

It is worth noting that in Marneuli Rayon alone, over the past three years, 1538 persons have moved in from Azerbaijan and Armenia; most of them have been registered by the ispolkoms of the village Soviets in clear violation of the law. Frequently, moreover, the village soviets have failed to submit to the passport desks of the MVD organs information concerning the newly registered persons, and the MVD organs, for their part, have failed to monitor this matter.

[Inovel] Could you name specific officials authorizing such registrations and allocating land or individual housing construction in Marneuli Rayon without legal grounds?

[Razmadze] Through the negligence or irresponsibility of V. Ninua, the former architect of Marneuli Rayon, 11 workers and employees of the Algeti Sovkhoz were issued plans for the construction of dwellings on plots of land they took over on their own. By order of the sovkhoz board, these persons were assigned household land sections; however, taking advantage of the negligence of the village soviet and the farm's board of directors (Z. Imanova, former chairman of the rayispolkom; G. Katamadze, former director of the sovkhoz; Yu. Yusupov, chairman of the village soviet ispolkom), they also misappropriated public land.

The illegal practice of giving out public lands for household plots has become widespread in the rayon. From 1982 through 1985, for example, 24 persons were given a total of 2.28 hectares for household plots on the basis of orders issued by R. Gumbatov, director of the Kzyl-Adzhlo Sovkhoz; subsequently this was protested by the procurator. Through forgery, M. Olkanyan, chairman of the ispolkom of the Akhkerp Village Soviet, illegally registered one Atabegyan, a resident of Yerevan, and permitted him to build a house—against the law—having given authorization for this after the construction was already completed. The rayon procuracy has instituted criminal proceedings in this matter, and a preliminary investigation is underway.

[Inovel] You mentioned that other regions of the republic have been subjected to similar investigations....

[Razmadze] Serious violations have been found in Gardabani Rayon, where wholesale giveaways of public land and illegal housing construction have been going on for a long time. In Sartichala, Muganlo, Gachiani, and other village soviets, hundreds of families have appropriated land without permission and built dwellings there, with the connivance of local authorities. It should also be noted that many residents of Gardabani Rayon have moved to Kirov Rayon in Tbilisi, where they have illegally set up a whole community and appropriated 19 hectares of land.

Despite the fact that violations of land use legislation in Gardabani Rayon continue to this day, G. Veliyev, chairman of the rayispolkom, has not taken any effective measures to halt them and to punish the guilty, although he himself deserves punishment for this inaction.

[Inovel] Marneuli and Gardabani rayons are inhabited primarily by Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Is the situation with regard to land use any better in regions where the indigenous population is dominant?

[Razmadze] Unfortunately, no. Over the span of quite a long time, there have been gross violations of regulations governing individual housing construction and the terms of legislation on land use in Kvareli Rayon. Way back in the late 1950s, 1635 persons from the Dagestan ASSR moved to Kvareli for permanent residence; they were allocated 120 hectares of land to build on. Later on, as a result of natural population increase and the splitting off

of new families on separate farms, illegal land appropriations began. Today the settlers have taken over 23 hectares. In late 1987, the Kvareli Rayispolkom (A. Gavashelishvili, chairman), instead of undertaking to enforce legal measures against persons who took over land plots without permission, petitioned the republic's Council of Ministers to legalize the appropriated lands, and this was done in February 1988. This kind of "policy" brought it about that they started to build an illegal road from Dagestan to Kvareli Rayon. This construction was halted only as a result of intervention by the press and the republic's public opinion.

Widespread appropriation of state lands has also taken place in Lagodekhi Rayon, where settlers from Azerbaijan and Dagestan have taken up permanent residence without legal authorization. With the direct connivance of the present and former chairmen of the rayispolkom (M. Zurabashvili and A. Kapanadze), many village soviets in the rayon have been the scene of more and more cases of illegality in matters of land use and individual housing construction. And even though these matters have been discussed regularly over the past nine years at rayispolkom meetings, practically nothing has been done to stop gross violations.

[Inoveli] Would you say that this is one of those cases where words diverge sharply from deeds?

[Razmadze] It would be hard to conclude otherwise. Judge for yourself: When local authorities are eyewitnesses to the systematic takeover of lands, yet they fail to notice it for some reason, and then they call for compliance with the law, one can hardly speak of any unity between word and deed. Consider this eloquent touch: When we decided to provide practical help to the Lagodekhi Rayon Procuracy (O. Kharaishvili) and make a thorough investigation of the state of compliance with legislation concerning land use, at the initiative of the rayon procuracy and at the request of the raykom first secretary, O. Maysuradze, every effort was made to postpone the investigation until later.

[Inoveli] You said that widespread violations of the law have also been detected in Abkhazia and South Ossetia....

[Razmadze] That's right. In Abkhazia there is a widespread type of violation in which land is given to persons not living on the territory of a specific village soviet. For example, Tbilisi resident R. Khutaba was allocated 0.15 hectares of land from the pastures of the kolkhoz in Blaburkhva, Gudauta Rayon. Also allocated household land plots there were V. and Z. Khutaba, who live in Pitsunda and have no connection with the kolkhoz. In exactly the same way, a total of 1.75 hectares on the kolkhoz in Zvandripsh was given to persons who live outside the rayon. By arbitrary decision of G. Agerba, chairman of the kolkhoz in Dzhirkhva, 19 families have come to the village from various cities and rayons of the republic since 1984 and, without being registered there, have nevertheless engaged in kolkhoz work and settled

there. A total of 63 persons in Gudauta Rayon are in illegal possession of 15.74 hectares of land.

The same kinds of violations have been detected in the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, and in Bolnisi, Dmanisi, and a number of other rayons of the republic.

[Inoveli] People are also talking about illegal construction within the Tbilisi city limits....

[Razmadze] It must be acknowledged that such talk is based on serious grounds. Indeed many cases of widespread illegal construction and the takeover of land plots have been exposed in the republic's capital city. I believe it is up to the rayon law enforcement organs, the rayispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies, and, of course, the Main Architectural Planning Administration of the City of Tbilisi, to sound the alarm and actually put a stop to violations of land use regulations. For some reason, however, these offices have failed to notice many illegal actions in this regard. The violations have been going on for dozens of years, yet there has been no reaction. There has been no control over construction in Tbilisi and its suburbs, no monitoring of the correct siting of structures and buildings. In 1987, the Tbilisi Gorispolkom evaluated the work of these services, which were supposed to work out a plan of measures to put a stop to illegal construction. It must also be noted that over the past seven years the Tbilisi Gorispolkom has not once shown any initiative in stepping up efforts against illegal construction and the misappropriation of land plots; nor, in this regard, has it analyzed the work of a single one of the 10 rayispolkoms or evaluated the activities of former ispolkom chairmen and their deputies; many of them continue to hold responsible posts to this day.

[Inoveli] Perhaps the next question will seem a bit delicate, but I think there is no way to avoid it: Why is it that, to judge by the examples you have cited, the land is being misappropriated chiefly by people not of the indigenous population of the republic?

[Razmadze] Let's say that having sensed that certain officials do not have the proper attitude toward matters of land use, citizens who took up permanent residence in Georgia 10, 20, or 30 years ago have hastened to invite their relatives or friends here, many of whom the local authorities are amazingly ready to meet halfway. And persons who in previous years complained about giving the land away and assigning it to Johnny-come-latelies to the republic were frequently accused of political shortsightedness, of failing to appreciate internationalist education, and even of nationalism.

[Inoveli] A final question. Understandably, the purpose of these integrated investigations into correct enforcement of land use regulations is not so much to detect cases of violation as to get rid of them and also to determine the causes of the illegality. What kind of picture is emerging?

[Razmadze] It has been determined that 620 hectares of land have been misappropriated. Thanks to measures that have been taken, 528.12 hectares have been returned to social-sector farms. A study of court practices in cases involving violations of land use legislation gives grounds for concluding that court reports [chastnyye opredeleniya suda] are not very effective; in many cases they are never responded to. In some cases, the people's courts have handed down incorrect and unsubstantiated decisions with regard to matters of this category.

Many shortcomings have also been found in the work of the regional procurators, who have not exercised the necessary supervision over the enforcement of land use laws. All of this was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the board of directors of the Georgian SSR Procuracy, which decided to make radical changes in the state of affairs in the sphere of enforcing legislation governing land use, and which worked out measures and recommendations designed for this specific purpose.

As for the causes of the widespread character of violations of the law in previous years, it must be stated frankly that it resulted directly from the insidious practice in which unlawfulness was elevated to the rank of law. Instead of demanding a strict accounting from the ispolkoms of local soviets for the land giveaway, the previous leadership of the republic's Council of Ministers took a different route: It approved the unauthorized land takeover, thus encouraging new cases of unlawfulness.

Recently we proposed to the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers the necessity of regulating mechanical population growth in a number of regions due to persons coming in from outside the republic. It is also high time that we made a complete inventory of the land in order to establish proper state order in the sphere of land use. The land is the people's property, and we must all be responsible for its safeguarding and for its rational, economical, and—of course—legal utilization.

### **Specialist on Video Piracy, Pornography, Black Market**

18110092 Kiev *MOLOD UKRAYINY* in Ukrainian  
6 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with video culture specialist V. Yu. Borev by *MOLOD UKRAYINY* correspondents S. Pluzhnikov and A. Trushkin: "What Kind of Video Fare Is Available?"]

[Text] While not yet having entered every home, the video phenomenon has presented us with many problems—of a technical, legal, moral, and creative nature. We have endeavored to gain a grasp of the situation with the assistance of Candidate of Art Studies and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Yu. Borev, a specialist in the field of video culture.

[Borev] According to rough estimates, there are more than 1 million VCRs in the USSR. The Ministry of Electronics Industry has manufactured only 100,000 of this total—the rest were manufactured in other countries. Research scholars estimate that approximately 20 million Soviet citizens would not object to acquiring at least a video cassette player. Our industry's planned production figures, however, are such that it would take 150 years to meet present demand. By the end of the century VCR manufacture is to reach a figure of only 120,000 units annually.

But people want to view video films, and the solution is group viewing. A large number of video cafes, "video halls", and "video salons" have sprung up. But many of these have shut down following the USSR Council of Ministers decree on restricting the activities of video cooperatives. In addition, many zealous local administrative officials have shut down "video studios" operating under the auspices of MZhK [expansion unknown], Komsomol youth centers, and trade union club facilities. And the state production and rental network in this country is very little developed. In my opinion both cooperatives and other organizations should be given back the right of initiative, of course within the framework of the law.

[*MOLOD UKRAYINY*] It is rumored that this Council of Ministers decision is connected with the fact that some cooperative was taken to court by Western video producers for copyright violation. There are rumors about huge fines which the members of the cooperative had to pay to the state in hard currency.

[Borev] No, there were no such hard-currency fines. And the very story of a fine was made up by an official at USSR Goskino and found its way into the newspapers and television. The All-Union Copyright Agency replied as follows to an official inquiry: "At the present time violation of the proprietary rights of the authors of works recorded on video cassettes apparently consists in the fact that they are not paid royalties, that is, there is pecuniary loss. In connection with this the copyright holder can bring suit demanding financial compensation. We do not have any data on the actual occurrence of such suits or how the courts have handled them."

[*MOLOD UKRAYINY*] So the fact is we are violating international law in this area.

[Borev] Of course, and not only with video cassettes. For this reason we are currently drawing up rules and procedures for payment of royalties to copyright holders for the commercial use of Western and Soviet video tapes. Payment would be paid through VAAP, in the amount of 10 percent of revenues.

[*MOLOD UKRAYINY*] Well, let us hope that the problem of video piracy will disappear. But what about the question of morality?

[Borev] That is a complicated question. Several years ago there were vigorous efforts against so-called "video

vipers." In 1987 alone 250 criminal indictments were brought against the owners of video equipment. The law provided harsh punishment for displaying films "which promote the cult of violence and cruelty"—imprisonment plus confiscation of equipment. But law violations were increasing year by year. Then, at the recommendation of the Prosecutor General of the USSR, an expert commission was formed under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the members of which included sociologists, legal specialists, and specialists in culture and the arts. More than 3000 video cassettes of questionable content have been examined to date—not one has been determined to be illegal. Today 60 criminal cases involving video tapes have been examined on appeal and the convictions set aside. A number of additional cases are currently under appeal. Article 228 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, on the basis of which the charges were brought, fails to stand up under criticism, and for that reason was not included in the new draft Basic Criminal Code.

Just think about it: proceeding from the letter of the law, prohibited films would include war films, historical-revolutionary films, detective films, and even such a classic as, for example, "The Battleship Potemkin." Just consider the execution of the sailors on the ship and the peaceful demonstration in town. Are these not scenes of violence and cruelty?

[MOLOD UKRAYINY] And what about pornography?

[Borev] Depending on what you consider to be pornography.... In this country we do not have a clear notion of the difference between pornography and erotic films. If one considers indecent the showing of a naked female (or male) body, then it would be necessary to ban a great many films, both Soviet and foreign. These would include F. Fellini's "Casanova," as well as "The Dawns Are Quiet Here...." and "Little Vera."

A method was devised quite some time ago in Soviet art criticism and given approval by the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Cinema Art and USSR Goskino. The following can be considered attributes of a pornographic film: failure of the film makers to identify themselves; use of pseudonyms by the actors and directors in place of their real names; display of sexual scenes for the sole purpose of showing sex, when no artistic function is served. And additional criteria? Purely arbitrary linkage between individual segments, when the characters function only as sex symbols, and their character and personality are replaced by temperament; predominant use of full view, direct lighting, and full-on-camera angles when showing scenes containing the sex act.

Incidentally, this method is also applied in foreign countries which adhere to the Geneva Convention of 13 October 1923, to which the Soviet Union is also a party. In Great Britain in 1981, 15,000 cassettes were removed from circulation and 31 criminal indictments were brought. In 1985 President Reagan signed into law a bill

calling for criminal penalties against directors and distributors of child pornographic films, with penalties running up to 100,000 dollars in fines and 10 years in prison.

[MOLOD UKRAYINY] A method exists, but many people are not acquainted with it. Decisions at the local level are frequently made by boards consisting of local librarians, gynecologists, and urologists.... Nor should we ignore the fact of subjectivity of opinion which as a rule characterizes members of the older generation in regard to judging the "morality" of films. The film "Little Vera" caused quite an uproar!

[Borev] In debatable cases one can turn for assistance to the board of experts attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Philosophy, Culture and Ideological Trends. Its address is Volkhonka 14, Moscow 129842.

[MOLOD UKRAYINY] What about video film supply and demand in our video market?

[Borev] Analysis of the operations of state video rental stores (there are approximately 40 in the USSR) indicates that slightly more than 5 percent of VCR owners use their services. The remainder use the "black market," the extent of which presently amounts to approximately 30,000 viewing hours. Unfortunately the Video Film All-Union Artistic Production Association is unable adequately to handle its job.

Perhaps the youth video information agency recently formed under the auspices of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee will be able to accomplish something substantial. Its people are planning to address problems arising at the juncture of culture and technology. These would include new video offerings for youth, a video rental network, production of video film clips, plus many other things. The Video Culture and Youth Scientific Research Center, attached to the Integral Youth Center, was also recently established in this country. The center develops new forms of leisure-time video, analyzes the "video black market," suggests methodological literature on evaluating video films, on organizing clubs, and a bibliography of video offerings published in this country. One can write the center at the following address: 129301, Moscow, ulitsa B. Galushkina, 3, Building 1.

[MOLOD UKRAYINY] Can you state in greater detail what new video cassettes are currently being produced? How will it be possible to view them?

[Borev] Soon video buffs will be able to view a unique item entitled Feyerverk-1 [Fireworks 1], featuring A. Pugacheva, as well as the film "Plastic Movements of Modern Dance," on the method of famed Dutch dancer B. Felixdal. Not only musical entertainment programs but documentaries as well will be available on video cassettes.

The All-Union Komsomol Central Committee video agency has prepared video cassettes of plays presented

by the Sovremennik [Contemporary] Theater: "Stars in the Morning Sky"; "Kolombina's Apartment"; as well as musical programs featuring the groups Master, Attraktion, DDT and Alyans.

These programs are intended for viewing at youth centers. Formal arrangements can be made with the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Youth Video Agency by writing to the following address: 123376, Moscow, ulitsa Druzhinnikovskaya, 15, MVA [Youth Video Agency].

### Status of Soviet Jewish Culture Debated

18001341 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA-in  
Russian Second Edition 24 Jun 89 p 3

[Letters by Professor V.I. Rabinovich, doctor of philosophical sciences, and L. Rumyantsev, journalist: "Source of Sorrow: Two Letters Come to Light"]

[Text]

### Perhaps, I Misheard

Esteemed Comrades!

Perhaps I misheard, but this morning the Voice of America reported through commentator Lana Dale that a branch of B'nai B'rith has been opened in Moscow "to struggle against anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and to develop cultural ties."

Cultural ties—that is fine. But why do we need foreign assistance in the struggle against anti-Semitism? Moreover, since its birth B'nai B'rith has used this camouflage to carry out only one struggle—against the enemies of Zionism.

It is well known that B'nai B'rith is one of the most powerful Zionist organizations in the USA; with the help of the "Jewish lobby" it blocks the government of that country when the latter attempts to move even one inch away from the Zionist interests of Israel. This organization is closely linked to the "Jewish Section" in the CIA, which provides for the participation of Mossad, the Israeli spy service, in American intelligence operations.

If the Voice of America information is not a provocation, then I would like to know how a branch of B'nai B'rith in Moscow will carry out its program. How compatible is cooperation with an organization of this kind with our world view?

With respect,

L. Rumyantsev, journalist, Sverdlovsk.

Having lived two-thirds of a century and having passed through the selection of Stanlinism (because of my youth I only fell into the category of "son of an enemy of the people," the fire of war (I was a volunteer and became an invalid of the Patriotic War), as well as the swamp of stagnation (my finished doctoral dissertation languished in the philosophy department of Moscow State University for 12 years), I learned not to believe the slogans

which were pumped out everywhere, no matter how modern and radical they seemed at first glance. This also applies to the great multitude of concepts and views about the past, present and future of the culture of Soviet Jews—concepts and views which are extremely elegant in form and bold in spirit and which have been bandied about on the pages of official and unofficial publications. Today I would like to dispute some of them.

For example, in VESK (VESTNIK YEVREYSKOY SOVETSKOY KULTURY [Bulletin of Soviet Jewish Culture]), which is published by the Association of Active Participants and Friends of Soviet Jewish Culture and which has a circulation of 20,000, an author of a very substantial article assures us that "today culture is gathered under national banners." I will not begin to find fault with the extremely serious image of "banners." I will only note that by itself the slogan of a purely national culture is not an idea of "today"; it is of a extremely venerable age, and it is fraught not only with partial victories but also with great problems. In my opinion the words of another author are more reasonable. He states: "Our VESTNIK (Bulletin) will fight with perseverance and consistency for the preservation and expansion of the spiritual riches accumulated by man," in other words, for a combination of the national and the international in culture. But this same editorial, which in general is very successful, repeats the common stereotype about the language "loss" of Soviet Jews and emphasizes that the language should be "returned" to the people, who have been virtually deprived of the language.... It is true, the first author concedes, that "one can inform one's reader of 'something' in another language...."

Let us think for a moment: have hundreds and thousands of members of our intelligentsia really been "almost deprived of the language?" Have not Isaak Babel, Osip Mandelstam, Boris Pasternak, Olga Berggolts, Mayya Plisetskaya, Mark Prudkin, Arkadiy Raykin, Iosif Kobzov and hundreds of other cultural masters whom I am not in a position to enumerate here been able to inform us of "something" precisely because they they were "virtually deprived of the language?" Is it not time, respected VESK editorial board, to recognize the real facts: in the sphere of labor and daily life the native language for a majority of Soviet Jews is Russian, just as it is English for American Jews, French for French Jews and Spanish for Argentine Jews, etc. This, of course, in no way excludes the use of Yiddish among an insignificant number of Soviet Jews, or the knowledge by certain citizens of Hebrew, a language which today is freely studied in classes given by Hebrew cultural societies for those wishing to enroll. One should not mourn here the "losses" and the use of "another language"; rather one should accept and appreciate the reality of the multilingualism of that ethnic group which has survived the diaspora; one should also take into account the knowledge of various languages possessed by Soviet Jews living in our national republics, and the voluntary acceptance of Russian—the language of a great culture—as their native language by a majority of those people.

To continue. Here is a booklet devoted to the opening of the Education and Cultural Center imeni Solomon Mikhoels, which took place in Moscow on 12 February 1989. I understand that it was published in distant Australia, and while it contains (page 7) greetings from the Israeli foreign affairs minister, Moshe Arens, he also had to call for a renewal of the "ties between our fellow Jews and the people of Israel, who await them in our ancient homeland," and the vice-president of the World Jewish Congress, Izzy Liebler, had to proclaim with pathos (p 18): "The great Jewish leader, Theodor Herzl, founder of the Zionist movement..." etc. But how can the Education and Cultural Center imeni S. Mikhoels in Moscow add these appeals to its program? Surely not by mechanically combining the Zionist star with the hammer and sickle on the cover and on each of the 40 pages of the booklet? And, indeed, can these symbols be combined?

And I absolutely cannot refrain from saying just a few words about the program of one other "cultural" organization—the Jewish Cultural Association (EKA). It was published by the "Jewish Information Center in Moscow," which itself demands that "a reference is essential when reprinting." And it is here, in No 29 for 1988 of the *INFORMATSIONNYY BULETEN PO VOPROSAM REPATRIATSII I YEVREYSKOY KULTURY* (Information Bulletin on Questions of Repatriation and Jewish Culture), that there is a platform editorial, the essence of which is as follows:

"We proceed from the premise that the main task of USSR Jews today is to survive as a component of the Jewish people. Toward this end we see the following main directions: emigration, repatriation to Israel, the development of cultural and religious institutions... Thus the problems come down to three points: freedom of emigration, freedom for the development of national life within the USSR (so-called culture) and freedom to oppose anti-Semitism."

What can be said about such a "platform?"

This resembles the "final solution of the Jewish question" in the USSR by luring more tens of thousands of Soviet Jews supposedly to Israel, but in fact, to distant places overseas. And inasmuch as hundreds and thousands of Soviet Jews, as the authors themselves acknowledge, are not thinking about "repatriation" from their native parts, it is their opinion that in order to "give a national cast" to this "great resettlement" of people it is necessary to create a clerical-communal-Zionist, as they put it, "so-called culture." In this the emigration of all Soviet Jews is the cherished goal, while the "so-called culture" is the means by which it is justified and nothing more. A remarkable perspective! Personally I do not like this at all—choosing between repatriation and becoming part of the "so-called culture." For since childhood I have already become part of a great culture. And I cannot fail to see that along with the deportation of Soviet Jews from the USSR by informal leaders from the "Jewish Cultural Association," the plans

includes the complete elimination of the culture of Russian Jews—the elimination of the modern day Soviet Jewish culture as such.

In my opinion these "culture bearers" are ready to "support" Soviet Jewish culture in exactly the same way that a rope supports a hanged person.

No, the pro-Zionist goals and pseudo-cultural means remain for us alien and unattractive. We live in a great country; we are a unit of a great people, who are proceeding down the path of renewal and perestroika. Foam forms on the waves of perestroika, but out of foam one cannot create the sea, just as one cannot build a genuine culture on a pseudo-culture. The successful development of Soviet Jewish culture can take place only on the basis of dialectical mutual enrichment of national and international tasks. We have the right and the opportunity to ensure the healthy development of Soviet Jews in our multi-nationality home.

And on the subject of rights, many people today are talking about the rights of Soviet Jews. As an example I cite one typical statement by R. Spektor, who is active in EKA and who spoke not long ago to students at the Moscow Institute of Petroleum and Gas imeni I.M. Gubkin. After emphasizing that he is quite a Zionist in a certain sense of the word, Spektor goes on to say: "It seems to me that those processes which today are taking place in the territory in which we live give us the opportunity to defend our rights."

I agree that Jews, like USSR citizens of other nationalities, today have every opportunity to defend their rights. But I am also convinced that one cannot defend one's rights while espousing the philosophy of a person who does not live in the country, who does not live in a society of people but in a "territory" instead. For the absolute majority of Soviet Jews this is not a temporary territory of residence, but their native land. Their homeland. Two hundred thousand Soviet Jewish warriors gave their lives for it; they lie in fraternal graves alongside their fellow fighters—Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, Armenians, Belorussians...

Today the guarantee for the development of Jewish culture lies in the friendship of all peoples; to strengthen that friendship it is essential to oppose firmly those who preach any form of nationalism and racism, including anti-Semitism and Zionism.

In order to preserve and develop the uniqueness of national historical and cultural traditions it is essential to create associations, societies and centers which have as their goal the development of socialist culture as a culture common to all mankind, which includes and implies mutual enrichment and development, while steadily preserving the national features of literature, music, theater, and everyday culture.

It is necessary to proceed from the real fact that within the multi-voiced culture of Soviet Jews it is their Russian-language culture which dominates, naturally without hindering the development of the linguistic culture of Yiddish and Hebrew.

It should not be forgotten that language is only the material form of the expression of a delicate spiritual culture. And for this reason the intellectual-esthetic value of the creative works of Mikhoels and Meyerhold is probably close to identical for Soviet Jews. As for Kvitko and Marshak, let us say, they are distinguished not by the fact that one wrote in Yiddish and the other in Russian but by the fact that one was a talented person and the other was a genius of Soviet children's literature.

Nor should it be forgotten that conversational and literary language are not the only language of culture and art. The Soviet architect Ginzburg talked in the language of architecture and Eizenshteyn talked in the language of the cinema.

It is time to do away altogether with judgements about Jewish culture, especially or mainly in the context of ideas of the commune and Judaism. Yes, the theologian Moses Maimonides was a great philosopher of the Middle Ages, but the greatest philosophers of the new era, who broke away from the paths of both the commune and religion were Benedict Spinoza and Karl Marx. And are their traditions not the most valuable component of universal culture as well as Soviet Jewish culture?

In our country Jews live and labor alongside working people of all other nationalities. They frequently enter into mixed marriages; they enjoy all the rights of USSR citizens; they are participating actively in the process of renewing our society; they are making a truly enormous contribution to the development of Soviet internationality culture. Any purely nationalistic goals and programs are alien to the overwhelming majority of decent, progressive and educated people. That is not the way we think.

[Signed] *V.I. Rabinovich, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor*

**Major Issues of Ethnic North Reviewed**  
*18001262 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3*

[Article by Nenets writer Vasily Ledkov: "The North Has Begun to Speak Out"]

[Text] **Delegations from autonomous republics, okrugs and oblasts are to meet in the first youth festival of the peoples of the North, which opens in Yakutsk on 21 June. The aims of the festival are to strengthen friendship between the peoples and nationalities which populate the Russian North and jointly to seek solutions to the many problems which confront this broad region.**

**We are devoting today's edition of our traditional column to the problems of the peoples of the North.**

The national groups of the extreme North and the Far East have begun to speak out. On this terribly wounded land where man for thousands of years has lived in harmony with nature, people are now talking about the price that we are paying when, to the sound of gnashing iron and a cannonade of explosions that are barbarically stripping away the skin of the earth, we are "taming" the North, in the bowels of which we have found supplies of oil, gas, coal, precious metals, diamonds, and other natural resources. All these riches are, of course, needed by the people and the country, but how can they be extracted without inflicting pain?

The writers of the RSFSR spoke out loudly about this last fall. The poet N. Dorizo has termed the discussion at that time the most alarming one in which he has ever taken part. One question was raised with extreme clarity: Will the small peoples of the North continue to exist or not? The Yakutsk writer S. Danilov has additionally noted the paradoxical situation that has arisen when people who have survived in the face of every kind of hardship may now disappear thanks to technical progress.

Of course, it obviously is wrong to say that no attention at all has been paid to the tundra. But the good intentions that have served as a basis for governmental decrees issued over a period of many years have for the most part gone unrealized. Last summer, along with representatives of the CPSU Central Committee and the RSFSR Council of Ministers, I took part in an inspection trip to Naryn-Mar. It turned out that even many leaders of the okrug did not know about these just decrees, and the people had absolutely no idea they existed.

At one time, the Main Administration for the North Sea Route [Glavsevmorput] concerned itself with all questions that related to the development of the North, and took a complex approach in doing so. Its representatives, along with Party and soviet workers, travelling throughout the okrugs by dog and reindeer team, reached literally every person, knew his every need, and helped him. But then they abolished Glavsevmorput and the problems started to get worse.

"In the postwar years, when management continued to be by command methods... neither the Committee for Northern Affairs nor the Northern Peoples Institute was reestablished. Development of the lands on which the small peoples live ceased to be complex. As long as the interference of technology in the biosphere continued to be insignificant, some kind of balance was maintained. But with the discovery of large deposits of oil in the North and with the start of their widescale exploitation, the situation sharply deteriorated. The indigenous population became almost a barrier on the path of extensive—in terms of area—assimilation of the wealth of the North: lumbering, the oil industry, the mines. And so, for convenience, for more effective management, they started to do away with the small national villages and nomad camps and to resettle the indigenous population in large settlements where it was simpler to establish clubs and clinics for them and to build housing."

This observation belongs to the writer V. Sangi. I can continue this same thought.

They did not ask people whether they wanted to be relocated in large settlements. Nationality groups essentially are not protected by law. The sovkhoz, the kolkhoz, the geological party, the mine—their rights are clear, but the ethnic group—this is an amorphous concept. Those who enjoy favor in the North are rude, dishonest, and omnivorous. They hunt for reindeer in their own pastures, they remove arctic foxes from traps, they clean out the things the reindeer herders, by tradition, have left in the tundra for the next season when they will be needed. And therefore, when people say here that the predators of the tundra are the wolf, the bear, and, the oil driller, this is by no means an anecdote, and it is no joke. It is also true that the "glass ruble", the bottle of spirits, has become the most popular currency in the tundra.

Three devastating events have steamrolled across the Nenets Autonomous Okrug during the postwar years. The rayons were abolished, kolkhozes gigantic in terms of territory were created independently of this, and centralized fishing for salmon was organized in the Pechora. These poorly conceived but supposedly beneficial measures had the immediately result of depopulating hundreds of thousands of square kilometers of long inhabited lands. Unemployment appeared, cases of suicide became more frequent because many people found themselves in dead-end situations without clear goals and a sense of life's purpose. My fellow villagers in Varandey and Chernaya, resettled in Krasnoye, cried in despair: "We must have something to do; there is no work at all, and they are feeding us these cows along with reindeer." Girls who had grown up in boarding schools rejected the nomadic way of life and the young herdsmen were left without brides, which also frequently led to tragedies. The Nenets people, like representatives of the nationalities of the North, were not used to working with technology, and there were no possibilities for their traditional occupations in the large settlements. And a people who had lived for centuries in absolute sobriety

turned to drink. Crime, divorce, and prostitution appeared. The Tundra had never known such things.

And what a cost there was to building salmon barriers [perekrytiye] on the Pechora! This was the ruin of the tundra. Unemployment for hundreds of people, a deadening of the land, a rage of poaching, and even prison cells—this is the harm the Pechora barrier inflicted on the people. And the Kuzanetskaya, Nosovaya, Pogorelka, Alekseyevka, Khudaya Rechka, Shevelevka, Yusino, Ortino and other fishing stations, which were famous in the okrug as recently as the 1950's and which had supplied salmon both to the population of the tundra as well as of Archangelsk and Moscow, were no more. And they had not caused the stock of salmon to decline: You do not catch fish on the way to their spawning grounds using nets set from the shore. But this is what we brought about by concentrated fishing for salmon at Olkhoviy Kust on the Pechora.

Specialists from Glavrybvod are now responding to criticism approximately as follows: In connection with a change in the ecological situation in the Pechora River basin and of the entire European North, stocks of salmon and migrating white fish [sig] have declined. A significant part of the salmon and white fish spawning grounds are not being filled to capacity due a shortage of spawning fish." In general, blame is placed on the salmon itself. One cannot help but recall the words of the first secretary of the Komi Oblast Party committee, Comrade Melnikov, expressed from the tribune of the 19th Party Conference: Fish also have heads. Having run up against a steel wall many kilometers long, they are seeking spawning grounds in Scandinavia. The specialists from Glavrybvoda would be wiser to acknowledge that the blame for all the anomalies with regard to salmon lies with the Pechora barrier which is already almost 30 years old! And it is also time for Glavrybvoda, and all the fishing scientific research institutes, and the author of the project F.A. Ponomaryev, who received high awards, prizes and titles for this, and the present director of the Arkhangelsk union of fishermen's collectives [rybakokhozsoyuz], D. M. Volynets, an ardent devotee of concentrated fishing for salmon, to acknowledge that a barrier on a spawning river is in itself a crime against nature, that this barbaric—and there is there is no other word it—installation has become the chief obstacle in the way of natural development and replenishment of fish stocks. Moreover, it is completely counter to the legal interests and rights of the indigenous population—the Nenets, the Komi, and the large population whose forebears settled here as far back as the times of Great Novgorod.

The Pechora salmon has always also been caught outside Russian territorial waters, but not in such a way to cause stocks to decline within a period of 30 years. A sensible solution demands only one thing—the barrier at Olkhoviy Kust must be immediately removed and, with the exception of the herring and white fish fisheries, after having completely opened up the river, the salmon fishery must be reestablished in its previous locations,

ones that have been tested over the centuries, and this, undoubtedly, will produce a doubled, a tripled benefit both to nature and to the peoples. Masters, bearing the proud name of fishermen, will once again appear on these abandoned lands.

Industry is now making a broad advance in the tundra. The symbol and basis of life of the northern peoples—the reindeer—is also in need of protection today. What is needed to save it? Pasture land. If there are pastures, there will also be reindeer. It is necessary to raise their value per hectare from the present 59 kopecks to a scientifically calculated value of 20,000 rubles.

And, the main thing, land should not be left people to manage it. But now, when there is no master, "Mont Blanc" of scrap iron are piling up on reindeer routes throughout the entire okrug, poisonous flows of caustic soda from drilling operations are killing the lakes and rivers, spills of oil in the Pechora delta are fouling our land. In the same spot where white fish and white salmon [nelmi] spawning grounds are found, one hears the roar of explosions set off to bridle oil wells gone out of control. The caterpillar treads of tractors and ATV's [vezdekhod] are destroying the reindeer moss. Valuable furs and the very same fish are failing to reach to purchase points. It is simply criminal to look on this with indifference. We cannot remain silent also about the fact that, because of basically artificial ecological alterations, the nutritional regime of the northerners is changing as well and also that unaccustomed foods are leading to illnesses. And so the life expectancy of the aborigines has been lowered to 40-46 years. Infant mortality is high.

There is no mutual understanding between the technical and the traditional, biological civilizations, and the consequences of this are severe. It is painful to look upon the fires that are raging throughout the entire North, a result of the flood of people and technology into the tundra and taiga, at how tens of thousands of ruined reindeer skins are being buried. Reindeer horns are lying everywhere in the tundra—dead gold which could be gotten abroad, particularly in Japan...

How can we stop the uncontrolled advance of technical civilization in the North? This question is a pressing one today throughout the entire world. In places where wise, timely measures have been taken, the discovery of oil, gas and other natural resources on the lands of small nationalities has brought prosperity, has raised in people a sense of their own worth. An exchange of experience with foreign countries is entirely in keeping with the course of new political thinking that has been proclaimed in our country.

But, for the time-being, the eskimo from Chukotka must travel via Moscow, around the entire world, to see his brother in Alaska, although it is only a handshake across the straits. Nenets from Arkhangelsk, Tyumenskaya Oblast, and Krasnoyarskiy Kray cannot freely associate among themselves because they live a border territory. Between Naryan-Mar, Salekhard, and Dudinka—three

capitals of a people that have the same blood—there are not even regular aircraft flights... In a word, a great number of problems have accumulated and the measures for their solution must be immediate, specific, and effective.

Along these lines we, the writers of the North, last year appealed in a letter to the CPSU Central Committee. We proposed first of all that the small nationalities be given real autonomy, guaranteed by law, a right to national communities [obshchhina] for the election of their own leadership, to self-management, to preferential utilization of natural resources, to process and sell their own products, and a right to themselves dispose of compensation received from ministries and departments. Besides this, it is necessary to reestablish the Committee for Northern Affairs under the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to include an article on the preservation of national languages in the RSFSR Constitution. Judging by correspondence from various regions of the country, the language problem is now a common grief suffered by all—not only the small peoples. This was discussed at the Congress of USSR Peoples Deputies. Not one language or culture, even of the very smallest people, should disappear, for each of them is unique and all of them together are our common wealth. But how, let us say, can the Nenets language and culture be developed if, in our okrug, there is neither a national newspaper, nor even their own newspaper page, if no books are being published, if the Northwest Publishing House [Severo-Zapadnoye izdatelstvo], which the RSFSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade [Goskomizdat] has directed to put out books in the Nenets language, there is no ethnic editorial staff.

I, personally, have been fighting like a fish through the ice for about thirty years to publish even one book in my native language. And, indeed, I am not alone. There are more than a dozen of us, Nenets, members of the Writers Union. But our books, still only in manuscript, are lying on our desks, and some are already in the archives. With the transition of the publishing houses to economic accountability, the situation has gotten worse, has reached a dead end, because books in the languages of the small peoples, with their miserly editions, are extremely unprofitable. But if any compensation at all for the ruined land is possible, then should we not help undo bureaucracy's suffocation of the spirituality of an entire people.

It is desirable that all these really urgent problems be examined at the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving inter-ethnic relations.

The North is in trouble. The North is appealing to human intelligence. Only a broad, thoroughly thought-out complex of measures can really help the peoples of this broad region to more fully realize their rights. But, for the time being, what can the northerners, who possess neither rights, nor authority, nor power, do today to restrain and educate the those who enjoy a favored position and are numbed by indifference?!

### **Leningrad Workers To Form United Front**

18001245a Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 8 Jun 89 p 4

[An Appeal to the Working People of Leningrad and Its Oblast: "The Doors Are Open for Everyone"]

[Excerpt] We, the workers of Leningrad, appeal to all those who work at creating material and spiritual things of value, who provide food, drink, footwear, and clothing to the people, who teach and cure them, who conduct scientific research and organize production, and who concern themselves with our cultural development.

We are alarmed by the growing political and social tension in the society, its stratification by group interests, the setting of workers against the intelligentsia and vice versa, the precipitous enrichment of one portion of the people at the expense of another part, the hidden and open rise in prices, the onset of organized crime, as well as the spread of thievery and corruption.

We see very distinctly that the burden of extremely complex economic, sociopolitical, and spiritual problems is engendering among people a lack of confidence in the morrow, as well as worry about their own future and the future of their children.

To a large extent, we are not satisfied with the progress being made by perestroika, including a dissatisfaction with our contribution and its results.

With pain in our hearts we are experiencing events in those regions where tension is growing. We note with profound concern that extremism, which shades substantially into Anti-Sovietism, is becoming more and more dangerous. Here and there political groups of various stripes are beginning to appear and claiming categorically to speak in the name of the people. While claiming to fight for a state of law, they frequently, in fact, violate Soviet laws; while covering themselves with democratic slogans, they engender confrontation in the society.

The party's healthy forces need our active support, without which the party will hardly be able to successfully oppose the dictates of the departments, bureaucratism, local favoritism, corruption, and the anarchic drift of group egoism. At the same time we cannot consider as true communists those who do not protect the interests of working people.

We workers must not forget our own responsibility for the fate of socialism. That is why we are coming out with an initiative for creating a working people's movement, one which sets as its goal the struggle to improve the people's life. The "United Front of Working People" must become such a joint-action organization. It will include non-party members as well as communists, people engaged in various occupations, and they must be united by our awareness as workers.

Only after rallying together and becoming consolidated, will we working people be able to successfully struggle for

common socialist interests, not allow extremism in our society, and to exercise monitoring controls over all spheres of life.

Comrades! We cannot delay any longer! Men and women workers, office employees, and intelligentsia, come and actively join in the movement entitled the "United Front of Working People"!

We appeal to the councils of labor collectives, public organizations, and all working people to support our initiative and, prior to 10 June, to send their own representatives with mandates to participate in the organizational meeting.

#### **Solovyev Welcomes GDR Navy Officers**

18001245b Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*  
in Russian 13 May 89 p 1

[LenTASS report: "Alliance of Our Friendship"]

[Text] In connection with the friendly visit to our city by a detachment of warships from the GDR, Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, yesterday received an official delegation from the People's Navy of the German Democratic Republic.

In greeting the representatives of the armed forces of this fraternal country at Smolnyy, he stated that the dynamically developing relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR had now reached a qualitatively new level, corresponding to the requirements of the present-day stage of building socialism in both countries.

Yu.F. Solovyev noted the intensification of the restructuring processes in Soviet society, the politicization of which is proceeding more rapidly than the restructuring of the economy. Hence there are also certain disproportions and complex factors in carrying out the tasks which have been outlined. The efforts of the Leningrad Party Organization have been directed at speeding up the process of renovation, but this very process has revealed the need for changes not only in the economic sphere, but also in people's psychology. This has manifested itself particularly under the conditions of democratization and glasnost.

Yu.F. Solovyev emphasized that the main thing at the present-day stage remains building a state of law, with full power lodged in the people. It is specifically the party which began the revolutionary changes, and now the movement of the entire people, advocating the renovation of socialism, is becoming more and more tangible. But we need to change a great deal in order to fully utilize all its potential. Work along these lines is proceeding energetically, but sometimes it does not objectively coincide with the desires of certain groups of people. The diversity of their opinions and judgements was particularly manifested in the recently held round of elections of USSR People's Representatives. This was widely and frankly discussed at the joint Plenum of the CPSU

Obkom and Gorkom; its decisions are directed at improving all party activity.

In the name of the ships' crews, Vice-Admiral T. Hoffmann, GDR Minister of National Defense and Commander of the GDR People's Navy, expressed his gratitude for the cordial hospitality. For many of us, he said, Leningrad is a second homeland, inasmuch as we received our education here. We are proud of the military cooperation between our armies, and we warmly support your perestroyka, with which we link the beginning process of reducing the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Of particular importance for the present visit of our force of ships, the commander noted, is the fact that it is taking place during the days of celebrating the 44th Anniversary of the Victory over Hitler's Fascism and during the 40th Anniversary of the GDR's formation. Our meeting with the City of Lenin will serve to further deepen fraternal relations and strengthen military cooperation in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism.

Also attending the reception were the following persons: A.S. Tumanov, secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, V.A. Lopatnikov, representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Leningrad, and other officials.

On the part of our guests, there was the military, naval, and air force attache from the GDR Embassy in the Soviet Union—Major-General G. Unterderfel. The GDR General Consul in Leningrad, H. Bauer, also attended.

#### **Information Distribution in Need of Modernization**

18001245c Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*  
in Russian 24 May 89 p 2

[Article by S. Kleshchuk, scientific associate, USSR BAN [Academy of Sciences Library], and T. Leveleva, director, Scientific and Technical Library: "Unclaimed Information"]

[Text] Many people these days are writing about the fact that our science and industry are experiencing a unique kind of information hunger. But it is paradoxical that this is a hunger...amid abundance. How else can we evaluate a situation whereby, in the flood of newspaper, journal, and book information which is sitting on our library shelves and in the stacks, the specialist cannot find the information which he needs. And if he somehow does come upon it, it is very late. We have already sensed how much this lag has cost our country's economy. Because we have not mastered all the necessary information, we are often forced to re-invent the bicycle, i.e., to create that which the developed countries have already had for a very long time.

We could cite quite a few reasons for such a phenomenon, but one of them is, perhaps, the most essential. It consists of the fact that, up to now, we have underestimated the role played by libraries in scientific and

technical progress. In the consciousness of many people—rank-and-file readers as well as specialists—libraries are still associated with those modest sites of culture which they were at the dawn of the Soviet regime. It is painful to acknowledge that during the four years since perestroika began our sphere of activity has not been affected at all.

It is no secret that it is specifically the information industry of the developed Western countries that for 15 years already has known neither stagnation nor recessions. Among all the capital investments in industry expenditures on information equipment and technology rank third, while outlays on computers and means of communications, when calculated on a per capita basis, approach expenditures on motor vehicles.

It is time that we understood that accelerating the NTR [scientific and technical revolution] depends not only on the sectors' assets and energy ratios, but also on providing them with information, that the contemporary library is a unique kind of factory for producing, storing, and processing information resources. And, according to computations made by the specialists, from 40 to 50 percent of these strategically important resources are being lost—they are not reaching the specialists. This is happening for the simple reason that we do not have enough technical equipment, and all information processing is being done manually.

The awareness of the broad masses of the people today is patently not prepared to accept the new technologies and ideas in the field of library science. For example, the idea that the qualitative leap in management-control technology (and a library certainly manages and controls floods of information) will occur only on the basis of a widespread automation. But there is not a single library in Leningrad which is equipped with computer-type equipment. Even the city's largest—the Central Scientific and Technical Library of the LenTsNYI [Leningrad Scientific Research and Technology Institute] does not have a single computer. Electronic catalogues, multi-aspect search, and the other benefits of automation still remain an unfulfilled dream for us.

This city's libraries have now assembled more than 50 million items of scientific and technical literature, and about 20 million such items are located in patent divisions, standardization divisions, and sometimes simply in the desks or work tables of scientific associates (which are not included in the count). Nor does this take into account the holdings of the Public Library imeni Saltykov-Shchedrin and the BAN [Library of the USSR Academy of Sciences], which are universal in their scope. It would seem that with such an abundant information potential, libraries should easily cope with their own basic task—providing scientific, technical, planning, and design projects with the necessary literature. But in practice specialists are compelled to spend many hours, weeks, and even months in searching for the materials which are needed for their work. This problem is characteristic of all the country's scientific and

technical libraries, and it boils down primarily to a question of completing their holdings.

Nowadays, in an age when the sciences interpenetrate each other, no single organization can get by merely with its own information holdings. In the first place, it is not so simple to collect the necessary literature; and, in the second place, there is simply not enough of it. In connection with the conversion to cost accounting, most enterprises and scientific organizations cannot even acquire the normative-technical documentation, inasmuch as the developers "charge" [?] such a price for this document that not every organization can afford to buy it. And these materials are not received by the general state system of information. Specialists often ask for the materials of conferences, seminars, and symposia conducted in our country and abroad. This is the most effective information, without which it is difficult to orient oneself in the field of its concern.

Here too is where computer-type equipment could be of help. It must be said that even today the LenTsNTI could offer specialists the opportunity to receive information within a dialogue system in data banks. However, the technical imperfection of the communications channels has led to a situation whereby the search deadlines are drawn too tightly, and the cost of one inquiry sometimes amounts to tens or even hundreds of rubles. But even when, with great difficulty and expenditures, a search is conducted, it is impossible to obtain the document in question, since no data bank furnishes a copy.

No matter how rapidly an item may be acquired, every specialist wants to have it on his own desk. But, unfortunately, our country does not have any domestically produced, reliable, and productive copying equipment. Despite the fact that last year LenTsNTI fulfilled 250,000 requests for copies, the waiting-line for this type of service.

The degree to which we have fallen hopelessly behind in the field of the information industry is attested to by the fact that the entire world has already made the transition to reading scientific and technical literature produced on microfiches. But up to now nothing like this or a reliable apparatus for reading these materials exists in our country, nor have we developed a method for storing or copying them.

But it would be untrue to reduce all the problems of scientific and technical libraries to the meagerness of the material and technical base. This is the misfortune of many sectors which are "stuck" with the residual principle of financing. The reason for information hunger in the midst of abundance, as it seems to us, is also concealed in the low level of readers' skills. Our engineers, scientific associates, designers, and planners often have not been taught the fundamentals of informational-bibliographical skills. They have a poor mastery of foreign languages and have difficulty keeping up with foreign experience. Of course, the library staff workers help them to select materials, but no one single

staff member can glance through the literature and compare it with the task to be carried out as well as the specialist himself.

As you can see, quite a few problems have piled up in the sphere of providing information to science and industry. And certain of these problems can be solved on a city-wide scale. First of all, we need to fine-tune the system of exchange and use of the holdings among the scientific and technical libraries of enterprises and scientific organizations. We must expand the framework of teaching students and young specialists the fundamentals of informational-bibliographical skills.

There is one more proposal which we would address to the cultural administration of the Leningrad Gornopolkom. Why not conclude agreements with certain of the Leningrad enterprises for turning out copying, computing, and organizational equipment for libraries? And the faster, the better. Because, you know, if we are to judge by the developmental rate of the Western countries, we are half a century behind in this field. Otherwise, we are doomed to be eternally tangled up in the tail of scientific and technical progress.

### **Buryat Writers Meet at Congress**

18001218a Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA  
12 May 89 p 4

[Article by M. Lomunova under the rubric "Notes From the 10th Congress of the Union of Writers of Buryatia": "Time Demands Changes"]

[Excerpts] It is amazing how swiftly time shifts the emphasis. Only three years ago LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA conducted a "round table" here in Ulan-Ude, and its theme—"scientific and technical progress and the contemporary literature of Buryatia"—would seem, at the very least, strange today. These days we speak more about the costs of the NTR [scientific and technical revolution] than about its discoveries. And if, at the time of the "round table," alarm for the fate of the sacred sea and the forests of the kray was just beginning to make itself felt in Buryat literature amidst the glorification of the Baykal and the BAM [Baykal-Amur Railroad], then at the 10th regular congress of the writers of the autonomous republic the problems of the ecology of nature and of the preservation and development of the native language and culture determined in the final analysis the theme of the conversation. As everywhere else in our complex, uneasy times, social issues came to the foreground, significantly crowding out the purely literary issues.

[Passage omitted]

In the foyer of the republic library where the congress was taking place ancient folios of Mongolian vertical writing lay behind glass in showcases. Monuments of Buryat literature... What age do they date from?.. For a long time we were trained to the phrase "rudimentary [mladopis'mennyy] literature," and we came to believe

in it. But now we are finding out the truth: It was the written language of the Tatars of a century ago; it was the great Kul Gali. The Buryats have literary monuments. In the archives of Leningrad, Irkutsk, Chita, and Ulan-Ude and abroad are kept historical documents of the 18th and 19th centuries, confirming the development of a Buryat literary tradition.

In 1931, on command from above, the Old Mongolian written literature was eradicated. Ten years had not passed when the Latin alphabet was replaced with the Cyrillic. The people were torn from their cultural and historical sources.

I share the pain of S. Tsyrendorzhiev. He recalled those difficult years when, under the slogan of the struggle with bourgeois nationalism and lamaism, Buddhist temples were demolished down to the last stick, and priceless libraries, Indo-Tibetan philosophical works, and historical chronicles and annals of the Buryats were burned.

And, of course, I agree with B. Dugarov: The rich literary heritage of past centuries must be returned to the people. Of course these problems must be solved at the government level, with regard for the wishes of the people themselves. I am confident that in questions of the preservation of culture the Russian intelligentsia will always support the Buryats, their "brothers," as they were called by the Decembrists exiled to this area. I recall Mustay Karim's profoundly true statement that the progressive Russian intelligentsia of the 19th century have always defended the interests of the peoples and nationalities of Russia.

[Passage omitted]

At the congress there was a lively discussion on the preservation of the native language and the development of the national culture. K. Balkov also spoke on the issue of preserving the people's mores. Mistakes committed in the schools with respect to the teaching of the Buryat language are only rectified slowly. Ts. Nomtoev, a former teacher and Hero of Socialist Labor, quoted a wise proverb current in the East: "The man who does not know his mother tongue is worse off than an orphan."

The issue of bilingualism was not in any fashion dismissed. S. Mikhalkov emphasized that Russian is the language of interethnic communication, and that it does not lay claim to a predominant role. But without a knowledge of the native language, the people die.

However preservation of the language is related to other problems and, first and foremost, to the state of literature in Buryat, especially children's literature. There are not enough books in the native language, and they are printed for a very small circulation. More than once I have heard about a "literary famine." The writers are correct: The publication of books for children permits of no delay. Incidentally, I believe that the signs on the stores in Ulan-Ude itself, if printed in Buryat, would help foster in the children a respect for their roots.

One problem "dragged" after it another. A serious conversation sprang up about the work of the Buryat publishing house for books, which pleads a shortage of paper.

And if there really is not enough paper? Everyone knows that the printing resources are poor in the autonomous republics. It is all on the same level—the situation of the regional journals, the creation of a native language newspaper for young people, and the difficult life of the journal LASTOCHKA. Everything depends on raising the status of the autonomies.

[Passage omitted]

Indeed, where are the young talents, why are there none? Why is the youngest Buryat writer 40 years old? Isn't it because the majority of the youth have not studied their native language? They have found themselves outside their native linguistic culture.

[N. Galdanov] A whole generation of Buryats has grown up which does not know its own language.

[G. Radnayeveva] Concerning knowledge of Buryat, a 30-year gap has developed between the generations. This is a tragedy for the younger and "middle" generations of writers: They have no readers.

And more attention should be paid to the young writers. Their manuscripts may not sparkle, but 10 years is too long a period for a book from them...

Many times the question "why" was heard at the congress. What keeps the writers from putting what they have resolved into practice? We will recall that it was no accident that information about the condition of social and political journalism for writers was absent from among a great number of supplementary reports. Ts. Tsyrendorzhiev, assistant editor of the republic's party newspaper, bitterly placed the blame on the writers: Not a single writer raised the question of language in the pages of their very own newspaper...

[Passage omitted]

The congress was held on the threshold of the 100-year anniversary of the birthday of Khots Namsarayev, pioneer of Soviet Buryat literature. I saw many of his students in the audience and on the presidium. [Passage omitted] But an unpleasant thought presented itself: To create the museum of Kh. Namsarayev which opened recently, the Congress of Writers of Buryatia passed a resolution... five years ago... Why do we most often remember our famous forefathers on anniversaries?... The anniversary of the great Buryat writer D.-P. Batzhabay is coming up in two years, and our editorial office is already receiving letters about the need to honor his memory in Ulan-Ude, even if only with a memorial plaque, but... we are waiting for the anniversary again...

The orators spoke properly and with discretion and, with the rare exception, there were no mutual accusations.

However, no unity was felt among the writers of Ulan-Ude, that fine unity that distinguished, for example, the people of Tunka. It is probably worth discussing for a moment that literary association, which has cultivated several writers and has not been pampered by the attentions of the republic's Union of Writers or, for that matter, of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA. I have seen how they rejoice at each other's successes. They are happy that their fellow townsman A. Angarkhayev, already famous as a writer in Buryatia, returned to Tunka—as a candidate for people's deputy. They rejoiced over fresh news: V. Tsyrenov, a prose writer and former director of a state farm, was moved "upstairs" to the position of first secretary of the rayon party committee—and was accepted into the Union of Writers.

But do we know many writers from remote places? The Union of Writers of Buryatia does not popularize the works of their own fine writers of the region sufficiently. The talk is always about the same few names.

In one of the positive moments at the congress, people of different nationalities expressed a sincere desire for brotherhood and friendship, and for rapprochement, through their love for their people and pride in their roots.

S. Mikhalkov stressed that our cooperation is dear to us. It is important not to lose, to piously guard, everything accumulated over the 70 years of Soviet power and preserved through the centuries: the language, the culture, and everything the people are famous for.

At the congress speeches were made in Buryat. This is warranted. It is long past time to establish simultaneous translation at such meetings. o/\$

The new governing board of the Union of Writers of Buryatia and the CPSU oblast committee should certainly heed the proposals made at the congress. One practical wish (expressed by D. Zhalsarayev) was that the leaders of the republic meet with the creative intelligentsia more often; the benefit will be mutual.

[Passage omitted]

In addition to the comrades I have mentioned, the following also spoke at the congress: D.-D. Dugarov, Ts. Galanov, B. Zhigmytov, Ts. Dugarnimayev, V. Naydakov, D. Dorzhogutabay, B. Krylov, B. Yabzhanov, and N. Khosomoyev.

A new governing board of the Buryat Union of Writers was elected. N. Damdinov became its chairman again.

A.S. Filin, instructor at the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and E. Zimin, secretary of the board of the RSFSR Union of Writers, participated in the work of the congress.

[Passage omitted]

### **New Nature Reservation Opens**

18001218b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 9 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[ELTA report: "A Steppe Reservation is Created"]

[Text] Dozens of the last names of scholars, students, friends of the "Green Committee," and enthusiasts and protectors of the environment stand at the bottom of the acts of agreement on the boundaries of the state steppe reservation "Orenburgskiy."

This is the first achievement of the recently created RSFSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature. For the time being the reservation is the only one in the steppe zone of Russia. Its area, at about 22,000 hectares, exceeds the total area of virgin steppe in all the country's remaining reservations.

### **Iturup Volcano Becomes Active**

18001045a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 12 May 89 p 1

[Article by S. Saktaganov: "We Report the Details: 'Ivan Grozny' Has Awakened"]

[Text] The inhabitants of the town of Goryachiye Klyuchi heard a hum and felt the earth trembling under their feet. It was the volcano "Ivan Grozny," which is situated in the middle part of the island of Iturup, that came to life. It threw a powerful column of gas and ashes about one kilometer high into the air. The low pitched hum and the earth tremor were felt even in the regional center Kurilsk, which is located a few tens of kilometers away from the volcano.

The weather these days is not encouraging to the inhabitants of Sakhalin; our correspondent did not manage to get to the site of the events. Therefore, the first thing we did was to get in touch with the oblast Civil Defense headquarters. G. Ishuk, the operative on duty, reported: "No victims or destruction".

But in any case what happened to the volcano that has not disturbed the people a single time during centuries past? V. Pchelkin, chief hydrologist of one of the "Sakhalingeologiya" expeditions, clarified somewhat what is happening on Iturup. While working with his colleagues during those days only seven kilometers away from the firebreathing mountain, he noticed that a crack that extended towards the ocean for almost 70 meters had already appeared on the slope of the volcano at the first eruption. Then the top of the mountain itself exploded twice. The eruptions of gases continue from the newly-formed enormous pit, and the ashes have been carried by the wind over the nearest slopes of the volcanic mountain range. The geologists have not seen any lava or mud slides yet. But Sakhalin inhabitants as no one else would know how treacherous the dormant forces of nature could turn out to be. It is not accidental that the workers of the local seismostation transmitted the following telex from Iturup: "The situation is alarming. Vulcanologists are needed."

And the situation on Iturup is indeed not simple. The nearest population center is located only a few kilometers from the active crater.

### **Plans for Ethnic Centers in Moscow**

18001045b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in  
Russian 16 May 89 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Ambassadors of Culture"]

[Text] The Georgian SSR Mziuri Cultural Center, which is located in the Arbat in Moscow, has been in existence for a long time. But why are there so few similar cultural-trade centers belonging to other union republics in the capital? V. Lashkov, Moscow.

A meeting of the commission on interethnic relations took place in the Mossovet ispolkom; the commission examined the questions "On the progress of work on the creation of union republic cultural-trade centers in Moscow." Prof. V. Filippov, chairman of the permanent commission, says:

"Indeed, the address of the Georgian SSR Cultural Center - 42 Arbat - is known to many city dwellers and guests of the capital. There is also a special department there for the sale of folk crafts and souvenirs."

An exhibit hall and a museum function in the Armenian SSR permanent representation's building, and there is a room equipped for the study of the Armenian language. But the republic does not for the moment have its own cultural center in Moscow. The Mossovet ispolkom leased out a building for those purposes already last year at 2 Armyanskiy lane, Bldg. 1, but up till now the regional committee of Baumanskiy raysovet's DOSAAF (Voluntary Society for Cooperation with the Armed Forces) has not been transferred out of this building. It turns out that the decision of Mossovet can be ignored...

As far as the permanent representations of the Kazakh SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Moldavian SSR, and Ukrainian SSR union republics, almost all of the problems regarding the creation of the centers have been solved.

However, almost all of the construction deadlines for the union republics' cultural-trade centers were in danger of being missed even before work began. The Moscow gorispolkom's Glavmoszhiluchet did not insure the eviction of a number of organizations and tenants from the premises intended for the union republics' cultural-trade centers.

### **BSSR SupSov Approves Commission To Guarantee Rights of Repression Victims**

18001130a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in  
Russian 16 Apr 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet approved a proposition for a commission under

the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet to render assistance in the provision for the rights and interests of rehabilitated persons and in the perpetuation of the memory of victims of the repressions occurring during the thirties, forties and the beginning of the fifties. The proposition for the commission will be submitted for the approval of the regular session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Until this commission is established at a session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet there is currently functioning, under the Presidium of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, a working group to render assistance in the provision for the rights and interests of rehabilitated persons and in the perpetuation of the memory of victims of the repressions occurring during the thirties, forties and the beginning of the fifties. The working group is headed by A.A. Zdanovich, deputy of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The proposition provides for the authority of a commission under the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet to render necessary assistance in the realization of the rights and interests of rehabilitated persons and in the perpetuation of the memory of victims of the repressions occurring during the thirties, forties and the beginning of the fifties, and in the maintenance in appropriate manner of their burial places.

It is to be emphasized that the activities of the commission are being carried out with the wide participation of trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations, as well as organs of public initiative.

In particular, the commission is charged with:

- the coordination of activities of state organs, public organizations, and organs of public initiative concerning questions related to the rehabilitation of victims of the repressions and the perpetuation of their memory;
- the examination of letters, petitions, and complaints of persons subjected to repression or of their relatives concerning questions about rehabilitation and the restoration of labor, housing, pension, and other personal and property rights and interests in compliance with existing legislation, and the rendering of assistance in their proper resolution;
- where necessary, the study of questions pertaining to the rehabilitation of persons who suffered as a result of lawlessness and arbitrary rule during the period of the cult of personality and, in the manner established by law, the introduction of appropriate proposals to the competent organs;
- the communication to the appropriate organs of its opinion on controversial questions raised by citizens in connection with rehabilitation;
- the study of the proposals of state and public organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, organs of public initiative, and citizens for the perpetuation of the

memory of victims of the repressions, and the forwarding of its recommendations on them

- assistance to concerned institutions, organizations and citizens in the procurement of materials concerning the official and social positions of rehabilitated persons prior to their arrest, and their service to the party and the state;
- the rendering of necessary aid to citizens in the procurement of documents relating to rehabilitation;
- the forwarding to soviet and economic organs of recommendations for the study of individual questions related to the restoration of the rights and legal interests of rehabilitated citizens, as well as for the perpetuation of the memory of victims of the repressions;
- the examination of reports of the appropriate officials on the progress of implementation of the legislative requirements pertaining to the rehabilitation of victims of the repressions, as well as on the rendering of necessary aid to rehabilitated persons and members of their families;
- the rendering of assistance to commissions under the oblast soviets and the Minsk City Soviet in their activities to provide for the rights and interests of rehabilitated persons.

The commission is also granted the right in necessary instances to enlist the services of representatives of scientific and other institutions and specialists of the various branches of knowledge.

#### Historian Supports Giving Belorussian State Status

18001130b Minsk KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII in Russian No 5, May 89 p 15

[Commentary by O. Trusov, candidate of historical sciences: "Why Only 'Bilingualism'?"]

[Text] In the third number of this journal I read with interest the section of articles dedicated to the problems of studying our native language. However I must note that the journal, unfortunately, was late in commenting on this subject. And I do not entirely agree with the wording of the rubric "Two Languages, Like Two Wings." A person is not a bird. Just as a person cannot have two mothers, he has only one mother tongue. It is possible to think only in one language, although many may be spoken. I am also bewildered by a term from the arsenal of "the period of stagnation": "bilingualism." Why only two languages, and why only Russian? Why do we spend huge amounts of money on the study of foreign languages only to know them imperfectly, not just after school but often after higher education as well? And incidentally, why must only the non-Russian inhabitants of the national republics be obligated to know Russian when, in the oblasts of the RSFSR with a predominantly Russian population, they do not study in their schools

the languages of the other peoples of the USSR? What has happened here to "bilingualism"? Does this mean that the inhabitants of Novgorod, Leningrad, Vladivostok, and Moscow are not required at all to have "another wing"? Why has this "privilege" fallen to them? And it is possible to ask many questions of this sort...

I believe that if the Belorussian language is to have the prospect of further development it is necessary to constitutionally accord it the rights of a state language and, in the course of 10 years (one scholastic generation), to fully transfer all institutions, organizations, and educational establishments over to it. In addition to Belorussian, each inhabitant of the republic should learn at least three other languages: Russian, English, and Polish. English is necessary for contact beyond the borders of the USSR and for the study (in the first place) of scientific literature; and without Polish, it is impossible to study and know in detail the history and culture of Belorussia (after all, it was the language of Mitskevich, Senkevich, Syrokomla, Monyushko, and other fellow countrymen!). With the help of electives in secondary schools and higher educational institutions one can study Ukrainian, Latvian, and Lithuanian (especially in those regions which border on the Ukraine, Latvia, and Lithuania). It is clearly worth offering electives in German, French, and Spanish because their use (especially that of French and Spanish) is extremely limited among the bulk of the republic's inhabitants, and among scholars as well.

And furthermore... Perestroyka must start at home. I propose that in 1990 half the circulation of the journal *KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII* be translated into Belorussian. Perhaps then the bulk of the exempted party workers will finally understand that perestroyka in the nationalist sphere is "in earnest and long-term," and the Belorussian tongue will again resound at party meetings, plenums, and congresses.

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#### **BSSR Medical Official on Health Issues Stemming From Chernobyl**

18001161a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in  
Russian 27 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Medical Sciences Vladimir Aleksandrovich Matyukhin, director of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Health Scientific Research Institute for Radiation Medicine, by BELTA correspondent A. Kryzhanovskiy. "Three Years After Chernobyl: A New Phase. New Tasks"]

[Text] The tragic events of 3 years ago draw intense attention to themselves again and again. The torrent of alarmed letters from the "zone..." in editorial office mail is not diminishing. People are demanding assurance of a safe future for themselves and their descendants. We hope to answer the questions that are worrying us today by publishing a BELTA correspondent's interview with Doctor of Medical Sciences Vladimir Matyukhin, director of

the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Health Scientific Research Institute for Radiation Medicine, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences academician, and professor.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, it seems to me that there is no need to recount everything that has been done to stop the Chernobyl disaster's aftereffects (this has been reported a number of times in the press).

The first period of stopping the accident's aftereffects is ending. Specialists contend that this period's primary task—to preclude radiation injury to people, and to reduce the risk of delayed irradiation aftereffects—has been accomplished. Do you agree with this?

[Matyukhin] The data from examining the contaminated rayons' inhabitants, produced by republic and Soviet Union specialists, showed that the population's state of health and morbidity do not, on the whole, differ from those of the pre-accident period and those of other rayons outside the contamination zone. Similar data have been obtained by Ukrainian and RSFSR specialists. However, an increase in somatic morbidity (hypertensive disease, coronary heart disease, chronic bronchitis, and, in children—chronic tonsillitis and deficiency anemias) has been recorded in a number of rayons. Analysis of the morbidity increase indicates that the morbidity's dynamics and increase rates in these rayons are, to a considerable degree, functions of an increase in the detection rate of diseases during the complete clinical procedures performed for the residents who had been subject to radiation. People's concern for their future also makes a certain "contribution" to these indicators. It is of paramount importance, under these conditions, that the residents strictly observe the physicians' recommendations.

[Correspondent] During the time that has elapsed since the accident, the radiation effect's level has decreased substantially, and the radiation situation has stabilized to a considerable extent. Its further improvement will occur very slowly, inasmuch as the primary dose-producing radioisotope, cesium-137, has a long half-life period (30 years). Consequently, it will be necessary to take into account that the contaminated area will remain the source of continuous additional irradiation of people living in it for many years.

[Matyukhin] The next period of stopping the accident's aftereffects is defined, according to the International Commission for Radiation Protection (MKRZ) classification, as **the restoration period**. Its task—to reduce the risk of delayed irradiation aftereffects to a minimum. Because of this, the need has arisen to specify a population protection strategy that will, on the one hand, ensure a minimal risk of untoward delayed medical aftereffects, and, on the other—make it possible to lift the existing restrictions and return to a normal way of life in these areas. A lifetime (70-year) dose limit of 35 rem, which should ensure a minimal risk of delayed aftereffects from prolonged irradiation in small doses, has been taken as

the new concept's base, in accordance with a recommendation of the USSR Ministry of Health's National Commission for Radiation Protection.

[Correspondent] Are the specialists still debating in regard to such irradiation's biological aftereffects?

[Matyukhin] In most scientists' opinion, the harmful effect of small radiation doses on the human organism has not been proved. Nevertheless, it is commonly felt that no small dose of radiation can be considered harmless. Calculations indicate, for a 35-rem dose, that the probable appearance of tumors (including blood cancer) with fatal outcome may be 0.5 to 1.2 percent of these diseases existing levels due to all other causes. Genetic aftereffects are appraised at a lower figure.

[Correspondent] The 35-rem lifetime dose limit will be established as of January 1990 by decree of the government commission for stopping the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant accident's aftereffects. How is it proposed to implement this new safe-living concept?

[Matyukhin] Up to now, the degree of danger in contaminated area living has been stated as a quantity describing the area's density of contamination with cesium-137, strontium-90, and plutonium-239 and -240. All protective measures have been carried out with respect to these standards. According to the new concept, not just the aforesaid criteria, but, most importantly, the irradiation doses accumulated over a lifetime are considered.

As has already been reported in the press, the areas, residence in which may lead to exceeding the lifetime dose limit, cannot be considered fit for human habitation. Additional resettlement lies ahead.

It is clear that this work cannot be done quickly, and will take 2 to 3 years, because it will require great capital expenditures and resources for constructing the new settlements and compensating the resettled inhabitants for the losses in their personal economy. These measures are being put into the republic's program to stop the accident's aftereffects for the years 1991-1995.

[Correspondent] What is being recommended to do with the remaining populated places, where the milk's contamination level exceeds the acceptable limit?

[Matyukhin] "Clean" pastures and hay fields will be picked out there for the privately owned cattle, which will permit the milk contamination's lowering to the established limit.

[Correspondent] How is the radiation situation's monitoring being carried out in the republic at present?

[Matyukhin] The Belorussian State Committee for Hydrometeorology performs the monitoring of the situation's environmental aspects. Determination of the soil's radioisotopic content and the gamma-ray background is made twice yearly at all checkpoints, and the atmospheric air, fallout, and water aspects are monitored

as well. The Belorussian SSR State Agroindustrial Committee has a network of laboratories for monitoring agricultural products, and there are checkpoints in the Belorussian Cooperative Union, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Forest Economy, and other organizations and departments. The Public Health and Epidemiology Service, which has oblast and rayon radiobiological laboratories that monitor the merchandising network's products, verifies the departmental laboratories' work. However, the research results are fragmented. As a result, the preventive work's effectiveness suffers.

[Correspondent] Will the situation change with the start of your institute's full-service work?

[Matyukhin] The scope of the work is vast. At the present time, more than 100,000 persons, entered in All-Union records as individuals requiring prolonged observation, reside in Belorussia. Under particular scrutiny are 3,440 children, in whom abnormally high levels of thyroid gland irradiation are suspected. This does not mean that the children have started becoming ill, but we are obliged to watch over their health constantly.

[Correspondent] Was not time lost in organizing scientific research on the Chernobyl problems in the republic?

[Matyukhin] The first specialized scientific subunit in Belorussia to begin studying radiation medicine matters was organized back in 1986, on a medical institute basis. However, time showed that the post-Chernobyl problems required greater attention than this initially represented. Therefore, it was decided to found the Institute for Radiation Medicine.

The essence of its work is not only in learning to detect potential aberrations' preclinical symptoms, but also in becoming able to anticipate and preventively treat these, in order not to let slight aberrations turn into disease later, in either an involved person or his or her descendants.

In the institute's clinic, the dispensary and polyclinic divisions for the child and adult groups, as well as some of the laboratories for early detection of potential alterations in patients' states of health, have already been expanded at the present time. A search is being made for the most effective forms and methods of children's preventive treatment and curing.

Moreover, one of the institute's most important tasks is increasing the population's public health and ecological-radiological literacy.

[Correspondent] The radiation situation maps published in the press have not depicted all of the problems.

[Matyukhin] I am for complete glasnost. The locally available maps of each rayon and village's radiation contamination are meant to publicize the contamination, and thereby to help ensure the inhabitants' appropriate public health and hygiene conditions in work and everyday life.

[Correspondent] Besides publishing the maps, it is also essential to print a list of the populated places where "clean" milk cannot be obtained.

[Matyukhin] We will make this list public in the very near future.

[Correspondent] I should like to touch upon yet another matter. Immense material and financial resources have already been expended on stopping the Chernobyl mishap's aftereffects; however, the requirement for expenditures obviously will not decrease in the future. Funds, including currency, are also essential to your institute.

[Matyukhin] It seems possible to me to bring in other resources in addition to the allocated state currency subsidies; to create, for example, an "Antiradiation" Assistance Fund, and combine the resources of the Peace Fund, the Children's Fund, and the Charity Fund in it. I ask that you repeat the account number 950000005, which you have already identified in the press, and to which industrial enterprises may make fund transfers. All of this will be repaid many times over, for the matter concerns the preservation of that which is most precious—human health.

#### Postscript:

An "assurance telephone" began operating at the Institute for Radiation Medicine on the eve of the Chernobyl tragedy's anniversary. Any person may call the number 23-15-12, and obtain competent information about the radiation situation at any point in Belorussia.

#### Meeting Commemorating Chernobyl Tragedy Held in Minsk

18001161b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 28 Apr 89 p 3

[BELTA report: "The Chernobyl Tragedy's Echo"]

[Text] A meeting dedicated to the Chernobyl tragedy took place on 26 April at the Park imeni 50th Anniversary of October in Minsk. It was held on the initiative of the City Committee for the Protection of Nature and the Belorussian Communist Youth League Central Committee [TsK LKSMB] Young People's Ecology Club.

During the time that has passed since the accident at the nuclear power plant, the radiation effect level has noticeably diminished, and the situation has stabilized appreciably, it was noted at the meeting, but the tragedy's echo will reverberate on Belorussian soil for a long time yet. The specialists in the radiobiology field, who spoke at the meeting, observed that the main task now—is to reduce the irradiation's delayed aftereffects to a minimum. Sergey Petrenko, deputy director of the BSSR Ministry of Health's Institute for Radiation Medicine, assured those assembled that all possible steps are being undertaken by the specialists to control the situation in Belorussia's affected rayons.

In the speech by Oleg Detinkin, lead scientific associate of the BSSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Radiobiology, there resounded proposals to make more effective use of foreign specialists' experience, to inform the population of the true state of affairs in the affected rayons as fully as possible, and to expedite moving the people out of the populated places subject to evacuation.

Members of the TsK LKSMB Ecology Club and BSSR Academy of Sciences associates Yevgeniy Shirokov and Yevgeniy Terekhov spoke of the nuclear power workers' tremendous responsibility and the population's quickest possible supplying with individual dosimeters.

The meeting's participants adopted a resolution, which summarized the many constructive proposals that had resounded in the Park imeni 50th Anniversary of October.

Those who gathered at V.I. Lenin Square in Minsk observed the Chernobyl tragedy's anniversary with silence. Once again, the public confirmed its readiness to provide any desired assistance to the government and the organizations and specialists engaged in stopping the Chernobyl accident's aftereffects.

#### BSSR First Secretary Meets With Nuclear Specialist

18001161c Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[BELTA report: "A Meeting at the Belorussian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] Modern science's state, its requirements and development prospects, and the public activity of researchers—these problems were at the center of a discussion that took place in the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee on 28 April. Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, had welcomed Academician V.I. Goldanskiy, who was in Minsk by invitation of the All-Union Peace Fund's Belorussian Republic Division. The well-known Soviet scientist, a specialist in the nuclear and radiation chemistry field, is one of the candidates for People's Deputy from the All-Union Peace Fund and eight public committees, who are making speeches for peace and international security.

In the discussion, primary attention was devoted to problems associated with the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and the stopping of its aftereffects. There was talk of the necessity to consider ecological requirements when planning the energy sector's development. It was stressed that one of today's most important problems is elimination of the population's radiological illiteracy, which will help the physicians in organizing measures to preserve people's health. It is necessary, for precisely this reason, to arrange the production of individual dosimeters and the requisite research equipment for the national economy's specialists. The republic's scientists can make a real contribution. V.I. Goldanskiy

expressed the idea of creating an international radioecology center in the affected rayons, which would help to acquire the knowledge so essential to mankind in a successful struggle for the planet's healthy future.

### Academic Discusses Prospects for Ukrainian National Culture

18110095 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian  
8 Apr 89 p 1

[Article by Petro Petrovych Tolochko, director of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Archeology, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Society for Preservation of Historical and Cultural Landmarks, corresponding member of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences: "Culture, For Us and Future Generations: Comprehensive Program for Development of Ukrainian National Culture: What Should It Be?"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee resolution dealing with progress in implementing the guidelines of the 27th CPSU Congress in the area of interethnic relations and strengthening internationalist and patriotic indoctrination clearly states: "Integral study of Ukrainian culture and the cultures of the other peoples of this republic has not yet taken on priority significance at the institutes of the UkSSR Academy of Science Social Sciences Section." In this party document, where we find a profound critical analysis of "points of deficiency" in contemporary Ukrainian culture, we have a clear guide to practical actions: "The UkSSR Ministry of Culture and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences shall complete in the first half of 1989 drafting of an integral plan for development of Ukrainian national culture and a long-range cultural and educational program for individual ethnic groups."

This was the subject of discussion at a "roundtable" get-together by representatives of all unions of creative artists and societies in the republic, organized by the ideological department of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. We would like to hear comments and suggestions on this issue both from specialists and from our readers.

### RADYANSKA UKRAYINA Questionnaire

1. What do you think about an integral theoretical concept of Ukrainian national culture?

2. What do you see as the content of a comprehensive program of development of Ukrainian national culture for the period up to the year 2000 and, in particular, its areas of emphasis?

3. State your suggestions and wishes regarding methods and forms of practical implementation of this program.

Today our questionnaire is answered by UkSSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member Petro Petrovych Tolochko, director of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences

*Institute of Archeology and chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Society for Preservation of Historical and Cultural Landmarks.*

1. Interest by people in their historical past and cultural heritage is a noticeable and gratifying sign of the period of perestroika. But one should not get carried away with past achievements. Nobody should harbor any illusions. Only the first step has been taken on the road to spiritual renewal. The overall level of our culture is still low, and precisely this may be the fundamental reason for our losses in various areas of our daily lives.

As for a concept of Ukrainian culture, one must state quite frankly that we lack such a concept, and not only in our daily lives but in scholarly theory as well. This is the only way I can explain statements by some scholars against the establishment of a rectilinear linkage between language and nation and endeavors on the part of certain writers to separate us into Ukrainians and Ruthenians or Little Russians, claims about the inevitability of linguistic-cultural integration processes, etc.

The linguistic situation in the Ukraine is extraordinarily complex. One might say that it is unparalleled in world history. Part of the nation—residents of villages and small towns—speak the native language, while others—for the most part the residents of large cities—have practically no knowledge of this language. A unique spiritual crevasse has formed between city and village, which is deepening with each passing year. Children are forgetting the language of their parents. These processes are quite advanced but, I would like to believe, not to such an extent as to be irreversible.

The magnificent folk art of the Ukraine is disappearing literally before the eyes of a single generation. Folk master artisans, preservers and continuers of ancient artistic traditions, are becoming relics, as it were, and relics about which nobody is concerning themselves.

For many years we hypnotized ourselves with invocations to the effect that the Ukraine is one of the richest regions in historical and cultural monuments and landmarks. We would cite astronomical figures, and yet we did not possess even a rough count. Today there have been noted positive changes in this area. The UkSSR Academy of Sciences, together with UkSSR Gosstroy, the UkSSR Ministry of Culture, and the Ukrainian Society for Preservation of Historical and Cultural Landmarks, are engaged in an important, large-scale project involving compilation of a list of historical and cultural monuments and landmarks in the Ukrainian SSR.

The investigations conducted in connection with preparing this study have pointed up the disturbing situation regarding protection and preservation of our national historical-cultural heritage. The so-called small historical sites have been particularly neglected. Today they are small, but at one time, during the time of Kievan Rus or the Ukrainian Middle Ages, they were large cultural centers. Today delapidated churches, ruins of palaces, and earthen ramparts recall their past glory....

Every year hundreds of archeological sites are ruined: they are eroded away by reservoirs, they are plowed under by powerful tractors, and they are destroyed by surface mines and industrial zones. As a result the historical topography of the Ukraine is changing before our very eyes. In another 10 to 20 years there will be nothing left but memories of the famed Scythian tumuli, Ukrainian pyramids, sites of ancient times of early Rus, and Medieval castles.

Monuments of folk architecture, ethnography, and folklore are in a grievous state.

All this persuasively attests to the fact that we lack precise reference points for projecting cultural development, points of reference grounded on a thousand years of national traditions.

2. As paradoxical as it may seem, a future comprehensive cultural development program must combine both dream and realism. We need a dream in order to visualize a long-range goal—culture of the Ukraine 20-30 years hence, for example. We need realism in order that the national-cultural idea not remain an unattainable dream.

At the "roundtable" of representatives of unions of creative artists and public organizations held at the end of last month, we reached agreement on the need to unite efforts in drawing up such a program. I see it as follows. Unions of creative artists and societies, together with the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, UkSSR Ministry of Culture, UkSSR Gosstroy, and other interested organizations, would draw up their own branch and sector programs. Then a special commission, which would include representatives of all public and governmental organizations, would integrate them into a single comprehensive program for development of Ukrainian culture over the next five years. Following extensive discussion it should be ratified by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet and be given the status of a state plan.

I am convinced that a program drawn up in this manner would be in conformity both in content and priorities with the goal of rebirth and development of Ukrainian national culture, and not only in the Ukraine. We have compatriots living in various parts of the Soviet Union and in many foreign countries. All of them are entitled to the national-cultural heritage.

3. Since a future program will assume the status of a state plan, naturally government agencies will be its principal executants. It is possible that the very scale of the tasks involved will result in certain structural changes in these organizations. I believe that ultimately a State Committee for Protection and Restoration of the Historical Environment will be formed under the auspices of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, with substantial repair and restoration facilities. The UkSSR Ministry of Culture will take the folk art of the Ukraine under its care, will establish new schools of applied folk arts, and will concentrate art industry enterprises in its hands.

At the same time the unions of creative artists, societies, and various "informal" or unofficial organizations must find their specific place in implementation of the Comprehensive Program.

Thus we need not only a Comprehensive Culture Program but also consolidation of all intellectual resources in order to implement it. The resolution of the 19th Party Conference noted that the forming and shaping of a general climate of interethnic relations depends in large measure on civic maturity on the part of the intelligentsia and the depth of its understanding of the root interests of its own people and society as a whole. I believe that it still remains for the Ukrainian intelligentsia to grasp the true content of these words.

**Editor's comments:** You have probably noticed that the title of this new section is framed by portraits of two great bards of the Ukrainian people: Taras Shevchenko and Pavlo Tychyna. This is profoundly symbolic, for Shevchenko's creative endeavors consolidated our nation in the lofty orbit of world culture. And Tychyna's apple-blossom poetic talent became a spreading bough of the evergreen tree of contemporary Ukrainian culture.

Today, at a time of revolutionary renewal of our society, Ukrainian national culture is calling to us in the voice of Tychyna, as it were: "I become consolidated and strengthened, for I am alive...." This is a good sign of the times. It is a voice of truth and hope. But what are your thoughts on this score, esteemed readers? We await your advice, your suggestions, and your replies to our questionnaire.

#### **Writer B. Oleynik Traces History of Repression of Ukrainian Language, Culture**

18001226 Kiev PRAVIDA UKRAINY in Russian  
14 May 89 pp 1, 3-4

[Article by Boris Oleynik: "National Dignity and Property"]

[Text] National dignity, if, of course, it is not to be used as a conceited, bumptious phrase, but rather in its original essence, is equal in value to national awareness and self-respect. And, inasmuch as personal, individual dignity is "paid for" by the people's property, by the material and spiritual property which has been accumulated by the onerous toil of all the generations, the right to represent the nation is possessed only a person who has contributed his own bit to the treasure developed by the entire society.

Over the course of several decades the official propaganda, having besmirched the noble slogan of internationalism by "merging," dinned it into our heads and souls that it was virtually the principal, ultimate goal of the "bright future" to reduce a multiplicity of forms to something super-unitary. And since this, according to the affirmation of the cult ideologists, was the ultimate goal of the Revolution, the slightest interest in things

national attested no longer simply to an emotional deviation, but as a direct case of Counter-Revolution.

For some time this "concept" remained a secret which was shared only by a narrow group on the "top floor" of power. For those below (read—"for mass consumption") the slogan "the flowering of the nations" was Jesuitically advanced. Thus, a double bookkeeping and a double standard of morality were born. Thus, the "top floor" essentially provoked those who were not in on the secret, those who naively believed in the slogan of "flowering," to reveal themselves in their love for their native things and...to bountifully furnish material for "twos" and "threes."

The tragic irony of their fate is as follows: the bricks from the smashed "prison of the peoples" turned out the primary material for building...the GULAG.

It seemed that the 20th congress, by exposing the cult, had put everything in its proper place. But it did not turn out that way: Brezhnev's team, after putting a stop to the "decultization," gradually began to reanimate the past and, consequently, the "double bookkeeping" on the nationality issue as well. And again those who fell for the shiny bait of the "flowering of the nations" came down with a crash in this new stage.

In principle, these misfortunes are universal for all the fraternal republics. And, at the same time, the fate of each of them has specific traits. There are also such traits in the Ukraine. And if we want to find the optimal solutions to the nationality problems, we must also take the "history of the matter" into consideration.

Nature has endowed our part of the world with everything the soul desires: bountiful, fertile black earth, all the elements in Mendeleyev's Table, picturesque meadows, mountains and hills, oak groves, forests, valleys, rivers headed up by the Dnepr-Slavutich. In short, it is an earthly paradise with a moderately continental climate.

All this abundance attracted our neighbors near and far, whether under the Polish slogan of "od morza do morza [from sea to sea]", the Teutonic "Lebensraum", or the green banner of converting infidels to the "true faith."

This hard-working, talented, and good-hearted people, whom, it seemed, God Himself had ordered to furnish the world with golden wheat, to provide joy to itself and its neighbors with unsurpassed songs, even when walking behind the plow, were compelled to wear swords at their belts. And, inasmuch as these incursions by foreigners followed one after another without any "breathers," it became unthinkable for people, albeit already formed into a home militia, to fight against well-equipped, regular armies. The instinct for self-defense engendered an historically unprecedented type of regular army—the unique guards corps known as the Zaporozhian Sech.

They were courageous and talented warriors. Recruitment for the Zaporozhian Sech was conducted on highly

selective principles: it comprised men who had a virtuoso-like mastery of all types of weapons, who were absolutely faithful to their brotherhood, devoted to their land and its people. They were headed by a military leader, who frequently had a European university education; they covered themselves with worldwide glory and became legends even during their own lifetimes. But, although highly selective in their recruitment, they were never an exclusive caste; the roots of the Zaporozhian Sech were nourished by the entire Ukraine.

Hemmed in from all sides and having fallen into the whirlpool of Muslim and Catholic elements, the Ukraine saw its only salvation in unification with its Russian brothers. By its religious faith and blood kinship the Ukraine merged with Russia under the gonfalons of Bogdan Khmelnytsky. This act was accomplished on a federative basis; all rights of full autonomy were confirmed for the Ukraine, right up to and including direct outlets for international diplomatic ties.

But the imperial, annexationist policy of the tsarist court little by little shortened the roots of the Ukraine's independence, gradually reducing it to a provincial backwater of Great Russia. Peter I made particular "endeavors" along these lines. But the harshest, craftiest, and most perfidious blow was inflicted by Catherine II, who eliminated the complex staging area of independence—the Zaporozhian Sech.

But, of course, the conversion of the Ukraine to a "Little Russian" status was accomplished not merely by direct, frontal attacks. "Caressing methods" were also made use of: bribing or "buying out" Cossack elders by titles of "Count," magnate gifts of huge estates, along with the enslavement of recently free Cossacks, and other lures and enticements.

But the people, who had tasted the sweetness of freedom, did not bow their heads. The memory of their heroic past nourished the roots of their love of freedom, which from time to time flared up as a flame of revolt or civil disobedience.

And everywhere the entire ideological apparatus was thrown into the effort to deprive the Ukrainians, first of all, of their native memory. Chauvinistic propaganda attempted to implant in the consciousness of the people of that time the idea that the Ukraine was just a part of an "indivisible unity," whereas its language was simply a spoiled, perverted dialect of Russian. By finely playing upon the base feelings of the average citizen, this propaganda introduced everywhere the idea that only by transforming himself into a genuine Russian, could a "Little Russian" achieve successes in his career, in creative work, military matters, and in obtaining the good things in life.

Naturally, the cause a split in the national self-awareness to a significant extent. Significant—but still not fully. Time past, but these "Khokhol-Separatists" did not subside. The irritation of the tsarist court on this score at times reached the point where, having abandoned the

disguise of being a benefactor to the people, it employed police-gendarme methods to simply "prohibit the nation." One could scarcely find in the world any people who have been prohibited by ukases from communicating with each other...in their own native language. But here on its registry books the Ukraine has the Uvarovskiy and Emskiy ukases, which simply prohibit the use of Ukrainian.

But even these actions, taken via an extremely well-branched system of police informers, could not dampen the people's memory. During the most stagnant period of serfdom, when, according to Shevchenko, "everyone was silent in all languages," the Ukrainians were speaking in their own language. And not only rural inhabitants, but also that not-numerous intelligentsia which, even under the "all-seeing eye," retained its own roots. Moreover, Kotlyarevskiy, Kvitka-Osnovyanenko, Grebinko, and others not only spoke but also wrote in their native language.

It must be admitted that even the censorship at times looked at this through their fingers: thinking something like let these people console themselves; it is not such a great sin to amuse themselves with a dialect with no future before it disappears completely. But in this regard the advocates of chauvinism were mistaken, tragically so for themselves. They were also mistaken in failing to take into account such unique phenomena as Ukrainian songs and dumas. If a Ukrainian were forbidden to write and speak not only in his own native language, but in all the world's languages, he still would not forget his language, for it has already been encoded in the very genes of songs and dumas, the number of which even now has not been firmly established; estimates range from 200,000 to as much as 500,000 in all!

It was specifically against this unextinguishable background of songs and dumas that Taras Shevchenko emerged—a poet, artist, and philosopher of universal magnitude, who took upon his own shoulders a mission which would seem unthinkable for one person. It was nothing less than to defend the right of his own people to exist as an equal among equals within the world community, in its national dignity, one commensurate with its own heroic history.

The guardians of the crown sensed in the person of the Kobzar a particular danger to the throne, and they attempted to shorten his life, first by prison and then by drafting him into the army as a common soldier. But, blinded by the idea of the empire's inviolability, they still "missed hitting" Taras.

To the honor of Russia's true sons, it was precisely they—especially Chernyshevskiy, who were the first to far-sightedly see the Poet's historic role: "When Mickiewicz appeared among the Poles, they ceased having to put up with condescending reviews by certain French or German critics: not to recognize Polish literature then meant to reveal one's own state of ignorance and savagery. Since Little Russian literature now has such a poet as Shevchenko, it too is not in need of anyone's charity."

During Lenin's life, and even for some time after his death, the idea of social and national liberation in their organic unity was espoused not only in theory but also in practice. During these few years, despite all the destruction, intervention, hunger, and cold, the peoples in their national awareness accomplished more than they did during any previous century.

The Ukraine was a bright, clear affirmation of this. The liberated energy of the nation literally blossomed out in a whole bouquet of world-level talents, in literature, art, and science. By availing themselves of historical primary sources, to which access have previously been prohibited under penalty of criminal prosecution, the people for the first time recognized themselves as equal among equals. It also turned out that the Ukrainian language, which foreign and native chauvinists had demeaned as a dialect fit only for communication in everyday life or in pastures, served splendidly not only literature but also science in all its manifestations.

Unfortunately, this beneficial period was too brief. The cult clique simply perverted the Leninist nationality policy. Moreover, under the noble slogan of "proletarian internationalism," the "Leader," so to speak, returned us to the true, as he understood it, Marxism, based on the dominance of the class struggle. And, inasmuch as the interests of the working class, regardless of their ethnic differences, are unified, then the national factor, it was said, could only hinder the performance of its main mission on the world scale.

Therefore, beginning in the 1930's, one of the chief accusations against all "enemies of the people," along with "conspiring with imperialism," was their conviction of nationalism. And, inasmuch as the Ukraine was the second republic in importance, it was the first which had to experience the entire harshness of Stalinism.

The most innocent interest in the native land's history, language, so natural in a normal society, qualified as a sly, crafty cover-up for the chief strategic goal of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists—separating from the Soviet Union "for the purpose of destroying the USSR." And since compromise was patently not sufficient, members of the Petlyura or Makhno groups were either shot or given indeterminate prison sentences, or they repented, or fled abroad. Stalin's secret police had recourse to a shameful, blasphemous falsification—they created the hoax of the so-called SVU (Spilka vizvolenna Ukraina).

As we now definitely know for sure, such a group never actually existed.

It is all the more tragic that this "non-existent" group served as the first signal for the mass extermination of living, real persons. After this, the scythe of death went on a spree through the Ukraine for almost three decades without a breather. From the SVU to the famine of 1933, which carried off millions of lives; from the famine it increased until 1937. And then—the war....

We hardly managed to celebrate the Great Victory, when literally the day afterward the "entrainments" began. And again, with the exception, of course, of the "cosmopolitans," almost everything was attributed to the chimera of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism."

At last the good news came from the historic (I say this not with the intonation of a man on duty!) 20th congress of our party, at which Khrushchev courageously revealed the apocalyptic evil deeds of the cult. Resounding throughout the entire world was the oath that such a thing would never be repeated.

After some 30 years of total oppression, when for merely using the native language your name would be recorded on the lists of the appropriate departments at least as a potential nationalist, it would seem that the only thing left from the Ukraine would be its name. But the Ukrainophobes had made a miscalculation. Literally within the few years of the "Thaw" our literature alone, for example, showed the world an entire constellation of talents, many of whom would have done honor to any civilized nation. And, by a miracle, the writers of the older generation who were still alive, catching a second creative wind, furnished readers with quite a few unsurpassed items of spiritual value. A similar renaissance was also observed in historical scholarship and literally all spheres of spiritual life.

But again the good fortune was not of long duration.... After the henchmen of the "leader" recovered from the initial shock, they began, at first in a roundabout way and, in time, more directly, began to restore the Stalinist model, and, above all, in the nationality issue. Once again the slogan of "merging the nations" was dragged out as a fundamental principle. And again the slightest interest in native history became qualified and categorized as a departure from the "idea," to put it more simply—as a nationalist.

And again the members of an already new generation, who had not yet managed to get trampled upon, were beginning to thunder about distant regions.

This is the kind of "freight" with which the Ukrainian people came to the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which proclaimed the epoch of glasnost, radical democratization, and the supremacy of the Law.

Perhaps, inasmuch as we remember about ourselves as an ethnic group and a nation, the Ukraine for the first time has acquired such unlimited, genuine possibilities for attaining its ancient goal—to be an equal among equals, and in the family of fraternal peoples, as well as in the community of all the peoples of the world.

While giving its due to the fact that perestroika began from the top, we state firmly at the same time that the idea of renewal was suffered for and approached by all those generations ranging from the legendary Zaporozhians to the convicts from the GULAG, exiled there merely because they loved the Ukraine.

These are not just words. This is the truth, sanctified by the names of Kotlyarevskiy and Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka, and Franko, the historians Kostomarov and Yavoritskiy, the Leninists Skrypnik and Khvykevoy, Mikola Kulish, and Aleksandr Dovzhenko, Sosyura and Yanovskiy, Pavlo Tychina and Rylskiy.

And so, the hour has struck; during the most propitious times we must roll up our sleeves and finally set to work to carry out the tasks which our predecessors suffered for. And it had to be begun with solving the language problem. And this is natural, for language is one of the principal factors determining the very essence of the nation, and it, frankly speaking, was assigned a literary-ethnographic role of a "national consolation" for writers, regional-studies specialists, Ukrainian-language teachers, and this is primarily in the rural and rayon local schools, inasmuch as in the major cities such elements have remained only for decor, and in some of them they have not remained at all. In science, in clubs, tekhniums, PTU [vocational-technical schools], pre-school institutions, party, soviet, and other serious instances, theaters, motion-picture theaters, on radio and television, in industrial advertisements, in announcements, in the names of streets, and in business transactions, the Ukrainian languages has been crowded back to the second, if not the third level.

Solution of the language problem has been organically connected with eliminating blank spots, or, to put it better, black holes in our history and culture, with the return from oblivion of innocent, wrongly oppressed writers, political figures, scientists, and artistic masters, among whom there shine some stars of world magnitude.

Also included as a natural component here is preservation of the inhabited environment, protecting it from the incursions of the central departments, which with impunity, ignoring the will of the people, have introduced AES's [nuclear power plants], chemical monsters, and all possible manner of canals, wherever they please. And inasmuch as these departments have, as a rule, thrown their "cuckoo-type gifts" into historical and cultural centers which have been inhabited by humans for centuries, such as Kiev, Chigirin, Kanev, and Zaporozhye with its legendary Khortitsa Island, inasmuch as all these "mines," which are not even so slow-acting, have been sown not only national sacred places, but also under the entire republic, the struggle against the newly manifested, industrial colonizers has advanced to the front of the stage. And rightly so. One or two more Chernobyls (Lord forbid!), and there will no longer be anything left to fight with or for—neither language nor culture in general.

And so this is the package of problems confronting us; they are interrelated and interdependent. There is a feeling that the republic is on the threshold of perestroika, which has proclaimed the following: let the people take all the problems into their own hands, especially the nationality problem, and solve them by proceeding from their own historical experience and

constructive ideas for the future, without, of course, forgetting about the interests of a multi-national power.

It would seem that with such a favorable outlook, even from the Center, that we could take and develop, let's say, for example, our own native Ukrainian language to its worthy and merited state level in all structures of the society without exception.

But that which at meetings, in discussions, at round and square tables, in arguments on the pages of newspapers and journals, in lobby and corridor "battles" seemed so very simple in practice has proved to be very, very complicated. This is true because we have had to move from words to deeds in this matter. To that rough, painstaking, sometimes exhausting work which acknowledges a word only when it has been "paid for" by deeds.

It turned out that we have very little practical experience in our republic, and not everybody is in a hurry to roll up his sleeves and set to work. Some—inasmuch as they have become accustomed to posing problems for others to solve. Others—because they have been infected with the idea of "merging" and are stubbornly maintaining the old ideas, and, where possible, they are retarding the process of national rebirth. A third group, which has forgotten who their fathers were, have regarded all this from a hostile or indifferent point of view, which was most "clearly" expressed by a miner from the Donetsk Basin, who remarked that if a knowledge of Ukrainian would provide us with more bread, then we would all study it.

I was an eyewitness to the explosion of indignation which was detonated by this "humor." With my hand on my heart I asked myself: Is this really the miner's fault, or is it his misfortune? Can we really be so naive as to not take historical experience into account? Is it really possible that someone would suppose that many centuries of practical experience in crowding the Ukrainian language into the outskirts of spiritual life, reducing it to a dialect for everyday life, and its well-planned categorization as a language without future prospects would produce different results? Even if the elders, in earning their class-based "salary" from the crown, in order to please the latter, changed their own Cossack primogeniture; moreover, if the intelligentsia itself in the name of a hierarchical advancement abandoned their native language, we would still have to talk about the lower middle class, which at all times has profess and still does profess the principle of "its own shirt"! And the Stalinist irradiation by fear to receive in exchange for love for the Ukraine either a labor camp or a bullet.... Is it possible that all this did not lead to a rebirth and a spiritual fabric?

Nor must we hypocritically close our eyes to the fact that, during the process of the "Stalinist selection," the recruitment of personnel for the leadership positions was carried out using the criterion of their "unlimited devotion to the leader of all times and peoples," as well as—to no less a degree—devotion to the idea of "merging." As a result of this rigidly strict selection, a plastic type of

rootless stratum was formed whose merit was considered to be the fact that the higher they were, the more zealously they trampled underfoot their own native memory and heritage. It even became a rule of "good taste" in this milieu not only to abuse what was native, but also to "rebaptize" oneself from one's own nation to another nation in order to succeed well in one's career. And they did succeed well!

Of course, by the time of the Gorbachev Plenum this stratum, worn down by the Khrushchev Thaw, no longer had anything like its former strength, but was still not so weakened that it would surrender without a fight.

Just take the following example. All right-thinking persons had come to the unambiguous conclusion that the Ukrainian language had already found itself in such a situation whereby, without state protection, it would be very, very difficult for it to occupy its proper place in the spiritual structures of the society. The requirements were the most elementary ones: accord state status to the language of the indigenous nation, conditioned upon similar authoritative, official protection for the languages of other nationalities living on Ukrainian territory.

It would seem that these measures are as natural as breathing air. But they turned out to be not so for everyone. The authors of the state-status idea were accused of committing the worst sins. Moreover, such accusations were made using an almost Stalinist type of intonation. Here too were citations from Lenin's works (moreover, the quoted passages were "strategically" abridged), as well as accusations of advocating a "samostiyn-like" independence, leading to an undermining of the multi-national power and an artistically imitated fear of "forced Ukrainianization."

To a certain extent, this resistance weakened only by the beginning of 1988, when, under the pressure of public opinion, the idea of state status for our language entered first upon the discussion stage and then upon the stage of draft documents. Now, upon the representation of the two Standing Commissions of this republic's Supreme Soviet, a Working Group has already been set up, consisting of legal scholars and representatives of public structures, for the purpose of working out a Law on Language, which would be subject for approval at a session of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet.

Of course, all of this is not proceeding as dynamically as we would like. But we must acknowledge the fact that a retardation system is the prerogative not only of the upper strata, but also that of the above-mentioned plastic-type-rootless stratum, which even now is cherishing the hope that perestroika is only an episode and that everything will settle down, and that the present-day zealots of the "indigenous" will be tagged with their customary label of "nationalist." All the more so in that a certain portion of the so-called common people even nowadays still consider, because of inertia, that the only way by which they and their offspring can rise to the

heights of the "good life" is via the Russian language, no matter how they distort it to the point of unrecognizability.

And here is something which we must constantly bear in mind: living in the Ukraine, just as in other republics, are a substantial number of members of other nationalities. Some of them have become seriously alarmed about whether or not their own national interests will be infringed upon by the according of state status to the indigenous language.

It has already been stated above that these alarms are in vain, inasmuch as the Law on Language provides constitutional guarantees for the development of all nationalities living in the Ukraine. But inasmuch as such fears are the result not of a single day, but rather of entire centuries, it behooves us to patiently fine-tune education in the fields of culture and inter-ethnic relations, which in our republic, speaking frankly, have hardly advanced beyond the zero mark. We must sensibly explain to peoples of non-indigenous nationalities who have already put down centuries-old roots in the Ukrainian land but who have not thought it worthwhile to learn its language that this, at the very least, is a sign of a lack of a fully developed internal culture, and, at most, is an insulting scorn of the land and its people which fraternally accepted them into its bosom.

One becomes convinced of this every day. At a meeting with some working people at one of the Donetsk mines, when explaining the abnormal situation with regard to the Ukrainian language, I asked the following question: "Suppose that in Russia or in France, for example, you were asked the question of what language you would choose for your own child in school?" At this point an outburst occurred which seemed, at first glance, to be unimportant, but which attests to something extremely significant. One of the women present rushed up to the rostrum and, breathing heavily with wrath, exclaimed: "But how could you say such a thing?! How could you...compare the Ukraine with Russia, or, even more so, with France?!"

Did you catch how deeply and firmly the stereotype of the Ukraine—minted way back under the tsarist regime—as an outlying part of Great Russia has become embedded in the consciousness of many people? And this is occurred during the 72nd year of the Soviet regime!

I have always maintained that chauvinism is organically loathsome to a real Russian at the present time. Furthermore, I have considered and still do consider that the most out-and-out great-power advocates were precisely "patriots" not of Russian origin. (For example, Shulgín, who is considered the standard of Ukrainophobia, is none other than "our" landowning kinsman from Volynia). And everywhere, at all levels to which I have access, I have protested and will continue to protest against attaching the insult label of "chauvinist" to a person just

because he loves Russia. For this is a natural feeling granted by nature—to love one's native elements and one's father and mother!

But inasmuch as we have undertaken to untie a complicated national knot in the Leninist way, then with Leninist directness we are obliged to say that, in connection with the objective circumstances which have evolved, the Russian people have found themselves to be in an ambiguous position. Fortunately for them, they have not experienced a national oppression; and certain of their representatives do not always realize how deeply and painfully any careless remark, no matter how good-humored, can be, when directed at a people which has been oppressed at one time.

Endowed by nature with a sharing, expansive soul, one which does not hesitate to give his last shirt to his brothers in any nation, inexhaustibly talented and kind, the Russian person has rightfully earned for himself the admiration and respect of the entire world. But if I begin to talk about, for example, the lamentable status of the Ukrainian language, some Russians, even those from the Moscow intelligentsia, with utter sincerity and without any sort of ulterior thoughts in the back of their minds, are perplexed and at a loss: they say, is it really worth making such an effort? Just think for a while, they continue; is it such a big problem—Russian or Ukrainian? After all, you know, we are all Slavs; let's settle this like brothers.

This unarbitrary, subconscious, uniquely peculiar kind of "great-power" attitude is also, of course, not something blameworthy but a misfortune, a part of the same distortion of Leninist principles and our general lack of cultural standards in inter-ethnic relations.

Here is a typical example. In a short story from the heritage of the splendid Russian writer Vladimir Tendryakov the following sentence: The good-naturedly smiling Khrushchev was dressed in a light jacket, with an embroidered, Ukrainian shirt, tied at the neck with a colored string, **which is currently called an "antisemitic"** (emphasis mine—B. O.).

This was said in a kind of good-natured patter, in passing, with a merry wink. But if it were not "in passing," and one were to pause and think about it for a moment: just who gave the right to this writer, furthermore, a Soviet writer, to so crassly insult the national dignity of two peoples at one and the same time? Moreover, is not one of them described as having not a simple but a "current" Anti-Semitism? A people on whose land, since the times of Kievan Rus, Jews have lived and worked, sharing joy and sorrow like brothers with the Ukrainians? By the way, this was the first time I have heard such a description of Ukrainian embroidery.

I am confident that Tendryakov really did say this in passing, without any sort of underhanded trick in mind, but that does make it any easier for me. Nor can it be any easier for a Russian, on whom this same Russian writer

two paragraphs before in this same short story, and also in passing, inflicts the following blow: "Yes, in and by himself Khrushchev was incalculably, terribly stupid, **stupid on a Russian scale**" (emphasis mine—B. O.).

When it comes to the nationality question, there are no trifles. And any such terms as the following, thrown out in passing with or without a light smile: "Banderovets," "Vlasovets," "Zhid," or "Chuchmek" wound not only the individual, but also the entire people which that individual represents. And, in defending our native language, we must defend it, above all, as a language of friendship and mutual respect, rather than as some kind of semi-underworld "argot."

But there really is a paradox here! The Great Russian people itself has turned out to be the most infringed upon with regard to the nationality aspect. It has neither its own Communist Party, nor Academy, nor certain other institutions and formations, which are supposed to solve specific national problems of which the Russian people has no less than any other fraternal people already mentioned above some time ago. Russia, which along with Belorussia and the Ukraine bore the chief burdens of the Great Patriotic War, is not even represented in the UN!

In short, we are still far from the halfway point, and, in fact, still in the initial stages of our long marathon to solve nationality problems. And in a marathon, in contrast to a sprint, one must learn how to "patiently endure" the distance. We must work patiently together to cultivate inter-ethnic relations, suppress our irritation, and propagandize examples of true internationalism. To put it more simply, we must approach Lenin's vision.

And there are people from whom we can learn. The first "academy of friendship" was Kievan Rus—a native nest of three fraternal peoples. Though cut off from each other by the Mongol-Tatars and by other conquerors, we have not for an instant forgotten about our common, initial birthplace. And Pereslav-Khmelnytskyi, where the Unification took place, was not, of course, a random episode, but a historically conditioned consequence of our age-old striving toward each other. And even the imperial policy of the tsarist court, played on the model of "Divide and Conquer," could not embitter us toward each other.

The first few years of perestroika, which have already untied us from officious regimentation and eliminated a watchdog approach over our patriotic initiatives, have engendered qualitatively new models of national interrelations.

The interesting Russian writer and native of Russia Sergey Sokurov, who lives in Lvov, not only thoroughly studied the Ukrainian language, but also founded the Society of Russian-Speaking Lvovans for Aiding the Development of the Ukrainian Language.

A member of the Presidium of the Board of the Ukrainian Cultural Fund and Metropolitan of Vinnitsa and Bratslav, Agafangel (whose secular name is Savin Aleksey Mikhaylovich), is likewise an indigenous Russian.

He himself has voluntarily learned Ukrainian and teaches his flock not to lose their national heritage, nor to cut themselves off from their native, initial roots. There is no need to explain how important this is to the meaning of inter-ethnic education.

I see particularly good future prospects in the activity of the Soviet Cultural Fund—and, above all, with respect to the part devoted to developing the culture of national interrelations. Thus, within the Ukrainian Fund, Cultural Societies have already been set up for Jewish and Turkic peoples, within the Fund's Lvov Division—for the Russian, Polish, Jewish, and Armenian peoples, in the Donetsk Fund—for the Greek People, and in the Crimean Fund—for the Tatar People.

The establishment of the republic-level Society for the Ukrainian Language imeni Taras Shevchenko was an important event.

These were truly people's initiatives, proceeding from the lower levels. But what about our "higher levels"?

Despite all the reservations, one must accord one's due to the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and the republic's government, which have worked out a whole complex of measures for international and patriotic education for the benefit of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of the society's material and spiritual life without exception. These are not those ordinary, routine "measures," which people used to forget about on the next day. They have already been implemented. The only unfortunate thing is that the public is not always informed about this in a timely and convincing manner. In connection with this, demands are sometimes put forward at meetings with regard to matters which have already been carried out.

But the impression is often created that certain persons either do not read or do not want to read the press, moreover, all the newspapers, including PRAVDA UKRAINY (5 January 1989) published the decree entitled "On the Progress Being Made in Implementing the Decree of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee 'On Measures for Carrying Out in This Republic the Positions of the 27th Party Congress Held in January (1987)', the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in the Area of Nationality Relations, Strengthening the Inter-Ethnic and Patriotic Education of the Population." They spell out in black and white that conditions are being created for the "...active functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of sociopolitical and cultural life. Within the UkSSR Supreme Soviet bills are being worked out to provide legal guarantees and the procedure for using Ukrainian, Russian, and other languages, which are utilized by the population of this republic." That during the last two years alone more than 200 schools and 130 kindergartens have been opened with Ukrainian as the language of instruction and upbringing. That in the schools and VUZ's more than 450 elective courses have been inaugurated for studying Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Modern Greek, Crimean-Tatar, and Gagauz:

Crimean-Tatar-Russian, Bulgarian-Ukrainian, and Czech-Ukrainian dictionaries have been published; radio broadcasting has been begun in Bulgarian in three rayons of the Odessa region, and in six rayons of the Donetsk region. That broadcasts are already being made regularly in Moldavian and Hungarian in Bukovina and Transcaucasia. That preparations have been started to put out a newspaper publication in the Crimean-Tatar language.

Is this too much or too little? Of course, it is too little by far. But, after all, this is acknowledged by the Central Committee itself. In a decree it has sharply condemned the slowness in expanding the network of kindergartens where Ukrainian is the language of instruction and upbringing, especially in the Voroshilovgrad area, where only 13 percent are such, and in the Crimea, where there are absolutely none. It points out that in Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Nikolayev, Sumy, and Kharkov they have not gotten around to opening a single Ukrainian school. I would have included Kiev here also, for the present number of schools in the native language here absolutely fails to correspond to the status of this city, which is the capital of the Ukraine.

The republic's CP Central Committee recognizes that there have been unjustifiable delays in increasing educational courses being taught in Ukrainian in VUZ's, that "work has not been fine-tuned with regard to preparing textbooks in the special disciplines for *tekhnikums* and VUZ's in Ukrainian...nor have the proper conditions been created for mastering Ukrainian by all citizens living permanently in the republic. Finally, a very important miscalculation is pointed out: in the institutes of the Social Sciences Section of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences "they have not yet achieved the **high-priority importance of the targeted study of Ukrainian culture...and the cultures of the republic's other peoples**" (The emphasis is mine—B. O.).

We have confidence that these and other miscalculations will be corrected, primarily because the decree concretely specifies constructive ways for solving the nationality problems. In particular, it very strongly recommends that even in the present year classes be conducted in Ukrainian in kindergartens and, starting next year—lessons in Ukrainian from the first grade on in the Russian-language schools. Of particular importance is the provision requiring the introduction in vocational-technical schools and *tekhnikums* of teaching several subjects in Ukrainian, as well as reviving the study of Ukrainian language and literature in the preparatory divisions of VUZ's. But what about a recommendation to begin the study of courses in Ukrainian history and geography as independent disciplines and translating the course on information science into Ukrainian and, in this connection, to develop appropriate textbooks and programs for computers? And what about implementing measures with regard to providing personnel for teaching the Ukrainian language, and work on regularizing the language in theaters, expanding the screening of

national classics, creating and dubbing films in Ukrainian? Have not these are other specific, targeted initiatives, in which consideration has been given to quite a few proposals by the Writers' Union as well, the Ukrainian Cultural Fund, the Society for the Ukrainian Language imeni Taras Shevchenko, and many informal associations which have adopted constructive points of view—does this really not attest to the fact that just by working on new courses we can achieve desirable results?

Not everything is proceeding at the speed which we would like, but I must acknowledge that in the delicate sphere of inter-ethnic relations, in order not to smash up the wood, it is better to follow the golden rule of "Make haste slowly." We must not slacken our pace too much, however, for every delay is taken advantage of by certain crafty, sly persons for all manner of speculations.

Here, for example, is a problem with regard to granting state status to the Ukrainian language. Quite a bit has been accomplished. As noted above, a Working Group has already been set up. A plan is already being developed for formulating appropriate constitutional clarifications and a Law on Language. The Ukrainian public has been informed about this.

But during the last few months a peculiarly unique gap has taken shape in the field of information. I understand that a certain amount of time is required for the legal scholars to thoroughly study not only Soviet analogies but also the practical experience of foreign countries in order to work out the optimal variant of the Law. So why not inform the public about this, albeit by a dry, telegraphic style? Although my colleagues and I on the Standing Commissions understand this pause, those "laymen," who do not follow these matters so closely—and, naturally, they comprise the overwhelming majority—are, naturally, alarmed by such a gap; it gives rise to all sorts of rumors, right up to saying that certain forces are quietly attempting to bury the whole problem.

This calm, along with other similar slowdowns, is being "delicately" used not only by foreign but also by our own "native foes" for their own hysterically loud demands.

An amazing alliance has been formed, combining honest persons who have suffered from perestroika and social outsiders who have attached themselves to the former. They have always attempted, because they lack talent, to call attention to themselves even by scandal. Particularly striking is the fact that they have even been joined by fervent Brezhnevites, who just "yesterday" were singing Hosannas to the "faithful continuator," oppressing people who thought differently, and reporting on those very same "nationalists" with whom they are now...cheering for perestroika. And the most repulsive thing is that one sees among them quite a few party staff members (including those from the Central Committee apparatus) who just a few years ago were tormenting us for our "narrow patriotism," and now just try! What they would really like to do is pour old wine into new bottles and keep just the term perestroika.

Joking aside, the shouters and speculators, who in the early days attached themselves to the genuine fighters for perestroika, are now moving aside from them—and not without success—and, let's be frank, are even seizing the initiative.

A strange picture has developed. It would seem that "star time" had arrived for those who struggled, suffered, and suffered again for renovation. For those persons such as Oles Gonchar, who, more than two decades ago, with his novel "The Cathedral," also began a restructuring and almost wound up behind bars. For those persons such as Lina Kostenko, Ivan Dzyuba, Mikola Vingranovskiy, Ivan Chendey, Dmitro Pavlychko, Ivan Drach, Roman Ivanychuk (this series, fortunately, is significantly longer). By the laws of social justice, it is precisely they, they and their associates, who, in turn, have a moral right to honor and respect. But it has not turned out that way here! The above-mentioned "perestroika buffs" are pushing them aside and energetically putting for their own leaders—from among those persons who just recently termed themselves with a kind of patter as being on the "consolation" lists with regard to the traditional "and others." Right now it is the "consolers" and "others" are the ones who are trying to control the ball.

Of course, time will winnow out the grain from the chaff and separate the sheep from the goats. But if we are going to rely merely on time to do this, we could pay dearly.

Even Dostoyevskiy warned the adherents of absolute equality that they were forgetting about the nature of man. Because the very concept of the "individuum" specifically signifies the individual, the unique, and inimitable. Not only what has been acquired, but also what has been instilled by nature itself. Because, after all, under equal circumstances operating to an equal extent on everyone, one person, for example might have perfect pitch, while another is tone-deaf. In short, aside from that which is shaped by circumstances, there is also something else, something given *ab initio*.

And, of course, the rules of conduct, elementary ethics, juridical laws and the laws of our forefathers, as well as other "moral anchors," as Turgenev called them, keep us standing upright in the normal flow of life, without permitting us, at the very first call of atavistic desires, to drop down on all fours. But this humus stratum of civilization, which has developed over thousands of years, is too thin. And if, during the peaceful times of evolutionary development, he is more or less equal to his fellow-citizens of various natures and heirs to the varieties of the universal homo sapiens, then at the very first sharp jolts in sociopolitical life, cracks appear in the afore-mentioned crust, from which erupt geysers of the dark instinct, heretofore suppressed by moral and ethical norms. And first to manifest itself is the prehensile reflex, which during the pre-histotic times, which as yet knew nothing about morality, help man to survive as a biological species. And after that came the subconscious drives of envy, the "will to power," etc.

It would seem that our science, even though extremely burdened with all manner of regimentation, nevertheless, would have been able to predict that such revolutionary shifts as perestroika would bring up to the surface not only healthy, constructive forces, but also the twisted urges of speculators and careerists, as well as those of failures, embittered at everybody and everything. And, inasmuch as these categories of persons have never "suffered" from complexes of conscientiousness or morality, it was natural that in the early days they were precisely the ones who could seize the initiative, for an honorable person simply becomes lost in the face of such blatant effrontery.

Unfortunately, philosophers and psychologists have not even come close to producing the models for the situation in which we have, willy-nilly, found ourselves, whereby persons with unclean hands have rushed up to the rostrum one after another. They have rushed up there in such an order and in such thick profusion that a common-sensical, responsible, and responsible person is simply physically unable to crowd his way through up to the "pulpit of glasnost." But the latter, after all, according to the good intentions of perestroika, is supposed to be made available to everybody on equal conditions. The cleanest water of idealism, even though bottled in the latest containers of perestroika!

These miscalculations, multiplied by the slowness of the upper strata, particularly with regard to solving nationality problems, are fraught with unforeseen consequences. They have opened up unlimited space for speculation by persons who have nothing in their souls besides hysterical phrases. Above all—under the banner of attacking the old bureaucracy—they are attempting to overthrow everyone and everything, and, in the first place, worthy persons, for it is the latter who create for the "stranglers" that unsuitable background against which all their invalid activity is seen with particular contrast.

But come what may, people will sooner or later finally see who is who. But the principal danger, one which is nurtured by slowness in untangling the nationality "knots," consists of the following: people who have nothing to lose (except for the chains of public morality, which hinder them from willfully casting aside all restraint) do not shy away from employing extremist phrases to entice honorable but naive, primarily young persons onto the next "Senate Square." Entice them there, and, at the first sign of danger, to slip away, leaving the provoked mass face to face with the Law. And, inasmuch as we at first permitted demonstrations and meetings, and only later did we begin to formulate regulations, moreover, not always successfully, we have already had some tragic results.

The most serious of these has been the Georgian tragedy. And its primary cause is again concealed in our vulgar-sociological leveling, in our Lysenkoist "distorted materialism," which takes into account neither historical experience nor the laws of our forefathers, nor the national character—in this case that of the Georgian people.

Need one really be such a profound expert on Sakartvelo history to know in what battles and against what powerful enemies this numerically small but courageously great people has defended not only its national dignity but also the right of its very existence as a people? Need one really be such a profound psychologist and philosopher to define the specific character traits of this good, bountifully generous, and ardent people?

May this not sound blasphemous, but it would have been easier for the mothers, brothers, and sisters of those who were killed to bear their measureless grief if this grief were not burdened by distrust. A deeper wound to a people which values, above all, its loyalty to its brothers, one which has proved it on more than one occasion by its own blood on the battlefield of Borodino and on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War—no more serious insult to a Georgian than insulting him by distrust, furthermore, in the "shape" of tanks—could hardly be found!

And if we had firmly decided to untangle all the knots without exception in the nationality question, then the very first prerequisite for success in this very difficult task could only be the full trust of one people in another and, no less importantly, faith vertically and horizontally in the wisdom of each people.

The fact that our peoples can and must be trusted without limit is attested to not only on weekdays and holidays, but also in tragedies, to be specific, in the Armenian and Chernobyl tragedies, when, not by command but rather by the natural movement of the heart, all the peoples of our multi-national country rushed to aid their brothers who had suffered. I am not even mentioning the Georgian people, which found within itself the courage to stoically bear its terrible misfortune without stooping to revenge.

We must believe and trust. Take the Ukrainians, for example, as well as the Belorussians, who have found themselves in a peculiarly unique position with regard to their native language. They have been subjected to doubts as to the parents' right to choose the language of instruction for their own children. Ideally speaking, this is an inalienable, international right, one of the basic components of personal liberty. But what if we consider the fact that in many Ukrainian and Belorussian cities schools where the native language is used for instruction are either virtually or completely lacking? Pardon me, but what is one supposed to choose from? Most likely, in such cases—isolated, of course!—analogously with cases of individual, human rights, we must not forget about a nation's right to self-defense.

Rumors have recently begun to appear in this republic to the effect that a proposal is being agreed to for according state status to two languages—Ukrainian and Russian. To a certain extent, these rumors are being heated up by television broadcasts about national inter-relations (in particular, about language), where such hints and allusions are slipped in.

In my opinion, primarily in the Ukraine and in Belorussia, by virtue of well-known objective causes, this model would be a retreat from the initial concept and, once again, an insult by distrust. Because, after all, according to state status to the language of the indigenous nation under the conditions of the Ukraine and Belorussia is, above all, a state **protection** of our singing languages, which—let's be frank!—have found themselves on the brink of being reduced to an everyday dialect in the rural areas, a stage language used in certain theaters, and partially in the creative unions. Could anybody really doubt the sincerity of the assertion that at some state level provision would be made for the free development of the languages of all nationalities living in the Ukraine, and, naturally, the Russian language as a tried-and-true instrument of inter-ethnic relations? Why, then, insult by distrust, let's say, the Ukrainians and Belorussians, for whom Russian is a second language after their own native languages? And, in the final analysis, it might be asked whether the Russians would want their splendid language to be imposed at a state language in other republics. I am confident that a genuine Russian would also take this as an insult by distrust of his mighty language, which over the course of many decades has already been used voluntarily by the peoples of our country as a reliable bridge of inter-ethnic unity.

And what is one to say about these complicated knots which have bound our lives and our very selves together? But they must be untangled without delay; moreover, this must be done "peacefully," with full glasnost and availability of information.

In this connection, allow me to remark that we do not always fully know how preparations are proceeding for the upcoming Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. I am confident that for such an important, possibly historic event the party is preparing with appropriate thoroughness. Why then, albeit only in a terse, chronicle type of style, is the public not kept constantly informed about what is going on? For those persons with unclean hands will again take advantage of any gap or pause to agitate primarily young people by planting rumors to the effect that all this "secretly" prepared action will not change anything substantially.

Those of us who have taken part in the difficult work of many years just to pose the language problem and then in working it out in a practical way, of course, know that positive, substantial changes are on the way. But every citizen of the country should have a full knowledge about this work.

Only by the entire public, neither with excessive haste, nor by slowing down, acting to solve these timely problems, can we "strip" these speculators "naked" and expose them to public opinion in their "birthday suits." Only genuine deeds and a true, not artificially created, group "talent" will save perestroika for the working people and from the empty phrasemakers who have attached themselves to it.

The people believe the doers of deeds rather than the jugglers of phrases. And that is why I unreservedly believe in Oles Gonchar, for he devoted all the energy of his powerful talent in the name of a lofty goal—to see the Ukraine in the full bloom of its national dignity, truly an equal among equals in our Soviet Union, and respected by the entire world.

I have profound respect for Lina Kostenko, Ivan Dzyuba, and Mikola Vingranovskiy, who during the grayest times of stagnation, scorning the dangerous reefs which often threatened their lives with catastrophes, defended their native history as well as our splendid language. I also sincerely honor the hard and sacrificial work of the splendid poet Dmitro Pavlychko, who not only fought for the creation of the Society of the Ukrainian Language imeni Taras Shevchenko but also did all the spade work to organize it and set it up as an institution. Worthy of all manner of respect is the dynamic activity of Rostislav Bratun, who defended the noble beginnings of informal youth associations from various "labels" (in particular, thanks to him, the young Lvovans who united together in the "Lvov Society," became active associates in the Ukrainian Cultural Fund). The serious scientist and well-known writer Yuriy Shcherbak has rightfully earned for himself a high authority as a firm fighter against the encroachments of the nuclear-power advocates and as a protector and preserver of the environment. And, of course, I bow down to the persistence of the talented novelist Yuriy Mushketik, who, by virtue of his, especially in present times, unenviable position as "writing chief," has taken quite a few hits but has not wavered in his firm principles.

It is these other, albeit unnamed but no less worthy, persons who determine the genuine **quality** of perestroika. It is precisely they who began it long before the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, who proclaimed the renovation of society and truly suffered for glasnost and democratization. It is precisely they and their fellows, despite their sometimes excessive emotionality and certain tactical "errors," who should be supported by the Party and all the existing information media. They should be supported as a counterweight to those who have surfaced from some place or other at the halfway point in the race and, without having any justification for doing so, are attempting to harvest something which they did not sow. Yes, there have been such persons, and there will be in all periods of time. And there is nothing exceptional here except one thing: the middle level is now stubbornly creeping upward and, no matter how amazing it may seem, at times "captures" this summit, thereby "washing out" some deserving people.

The Party has done too much work and suffered too many losses in its ranks, as it fought its way toward the idea of renovation, and suffered for perestroika for it to turn the initiative over to those who have done nothing to deserve it and who are merely striving to satisfy their own personal and corporate ambitions to cut it off at the

roots. And, therefore, its outstripping initiative in all vitally important spheres will be to deal the speculators some irresistible blows.

I am confident that public opinion will unanimously support, for example, the proposals set forth by the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and this republic's government to open permanent representations of consulates of the UkSSR in those foreign countries where there are concentrations of Ukrainians. This problem is already long overdue, and its positive solution would raise still higher not only this republic's authority but that of the entire Soviet Union.

A no less important factor for consolidating public opinion in the struggle for perestroika would be the elevation of Kanev to the status of a city directly under republic-level administration, along with the allocation of targeted funds for the development of its entire infrastructure, and the proclamation of the city itself and its environs as a National Park, where not a single industrial complex could set foot. Finally, we must restore the Permanent Shevchenko Committee, which would concern itself on an everyday basis with the Poet's heritage and make sure that everything pertaining to his genius is properly preserved.

Interesting, dynamic, and, as never before, complex processes are taking place in our society. I have already mentioned those factors which attest unambiguously to the irreversibility of perestroika. This gratifies and pleases the most optimistic hopes.

But amid this joy we must not forget that in all periods of time whatever is new, strong, and with good future prospects has always had no less strong opponents. We must not forget that democracy must know how to protect itself. All the more so in that recently, after some other "thoughts" circulated by various information channels (and not only foreign ones), an impression has been created that certain "thinkers" are not far from organizing a second—already ideological—attack on Lenin. And, consequently, on the Leninist nationality policy as well.

Of course, it would be possible, by extending the metaphor, as in former times, to console oneself as follows: supposedly, only the living are attacked, and, consequently, Lenin "even now is more alive than all those living," and his cause is immortal.

Tempting but dangerous. We must fight for Lenin's immortality. Fight for it every hour. Fight for it all together, drawing into our ranks all those informal movements which sincerely yearn to take part in the renovation. Involve and coordinate their actions so that these streams of initiative may merge into a unified river of a nationwide movement for perestroika.

I am more than confident of the following: every honorable Ukrainian, by defending his own national dignity with the same consistency and determination as he

would in defending the pupil of his eye, will be safeguarding and multiplying our common Soviet property—the Leninist sense of a single family. For history itself with all its incontestable authority attests that the most reliable guarantee of a truly free development for every nation is the Brotherhood of Peoples.

**WHO Officials Discuss Chernovtsy Illness**  
*18001195a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*  
25 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by A. Fedorov: "The Opinion of WHO Experts"]

[Text] Experts from the WHO—Prof B. Sankser, director of the toxicological center from the Netherlands, and G. de Groot, a toxicologist from this same center—visited Chernovtsy at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Health. The foreign specialists worked in Chernovtsy over the course of 3 days, examined 30 children of their own choosing in various age groups who experienced chemical sickness, and performed analytical work with a bank of previously obtained data. The Dutch scientists answered the questions of journalists.

"The large quantity of data that we looked into," noted Prof B. Sankser, "gives us a basis to draw the conclusion that the thallium version can be rejected as the main reason for the exogenous chemical intoxication of children in Chernovtsy. None of the children that we examined suffers from the effect of thallium."

"Are these children threatened with any complications in the future?"

"Hair is growing on all of them and they will all be all right."

"And what can be said about the current suspicion, for example, of the effect of boron?"

"We think that it is quite impossible for boron to act only on the hair, as is observed in the Chernovtsy case."

"Tell us, is it possible that there is some kind of a link between the chemical illness and the emissions of the Chernobyl reactor?"

"We do not see any connection here."

"At the present time, many inhabitants of Chernovtsy are concerned about the appearance of a so-called focal baldness. Is it not a continuation of the chemical illness?"

"We are certain that these are completely different illnesses."

"You had the opportunity to familiarize yourselves with how our medical personnel and sanitary-epidemiological services acted in an extreme situation. How do you assess their work?"

"In our opinion, all of these services acted as a good physician must behave in a similar situation.

"And, in conclusion, we want to note that Soviet scientists, specialists and physicians in Moscow, Kiev and Chernovtsy performed tremendous research and therapeutic work in connection with the elimination of outbreaks of illness, the determination of causes and the carrying out of prophylactic measures."

**Memorial to Chernobyl Worker Unveiled**  
*18001195b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*  
27 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by N. Svichkolap: "The Pain and Memory of Chernobyl"]

[Excerpts] A slab in memory of Valeriy Ilyich Khodimchuk, senior operator of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, who died tragically at his on 26 April 3 years ago, was unveiled yesterday in Pripyat.

The stele of red marble with a bronze memorial plaque was mounted on the wall of the station's fourth block.

The sculptor S. M. Zagaykevich depicted this courageous person, who entered into a duel with menacing elements, as if he were using his own body to cover the cracked and incandescent reactor. The memorial slab done in the counterrelief technique is having a heavy impact, as if not the person himself but his impression is frozen forever in bronze. It is frozen to call on the living to remember how the atom that has gone out of control can become a tragedy for humanity.

The sculptor S.M. Zagaykevich recalls: "Seven works were presented to the competition announced by the creative association 'Artist'. The deciding vote in the jury's assessment of which memorial slab should be preferred belonged to Valeriy Ilyich's wife, Natalya Romanovna Khodimchuk.

**Chernobyl Memorial Meeting Held in Kiev**  
*18001195c Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*  
28 Apr 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Chernobyl—Memory and Warning"]

[Text] Three years have passed since the Chernobyl mishap rushed into our lives. Those tragic events that shook the whole world were not only a test of courage and civil maturity but also a serious warning to humanity.

Thousands of Kiev citizens came to the "Dinamo" stadium on 26 April to take part in the meeting "Chernobyl—the Memory and Warning," which was organized by the party gorkom, gorispolkom, city council of trade unions, Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, city organization of the Ukrainian Environmental Protection Society and the association "Zeleniy svit." Along the central alley are posters, diagrams and charts telling about the course of eliminating the results of the accident and appeals not to allow it to happen again and to fight for a nuclear-free world and for glasnost in ecological questions.

The signal—a fragment of the melody "Requiem" by Mozart performed by Kaunas bells—announces the start of the meeting.

At the microphone is Hero of the Soviet Union and Lt Col for Internal Service L.P. Telyatnik.

Although 3 years have passed since the power block exploded, he says, the consequences of the accident have not yet been completely eliminated. Its scope can be compared with a disaster. There will not be any people in the villages around the nuclear power station for a long time yet. Can we forget this? Can we forget the people who gave their lives for you and me?

At the suggestion of L.P. Telyatnikov, the participants in the meeting honor the memory of those who died as a result of the accident with a minute of silence.

Speaking is D.V. Pavlychko, secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Union of Writers. He says that our land has not yet known such a blow as the disaster at Chernobyl. The most healthful and the cleanest rayons of our wooded district have become a huge, continuous horrible wound. Nature is taking revenge for immorality and for the falseness, cruelty, ineptitude and closed nature of the administrative command system. The power of the atom must be controlled only by the wisdom of the power of the people. Only by peace and harmony among nations. Only by truth and goodness. Only by science that does not demand sacrifices.

We know that we invested means and labor into that structure that could improve our well-being and lift our souls. But we did not learn everything. Because again we are building new reactors and new nuclear electric power stations.... Today we must say just one thing. From now on everything that will take place around the Chernobyl station and at the site itself must be aimed at the dismantling of the blocks and at the normalization of the Chernobyl zone.

The speeches of the writer A.P. Berdnik and of the bandore players Vasily Litvin, Vladimir Gorbatyuk and Vasily Nечepa at the meeting sounded like a ballad of alarm.

The indefiniteness of the future of the inhabitants of the rayons adjacent to the station, the accumulation of radioactive substances at places of temporary localization and expenditures of many billions are just the small visible part of the results of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station, said A.G. Zhidik, engineer for external dosimetry of the board for dosimetric control of the Kombinat Production Association. Today and for a long time there will not be anything more important and paramount than stopping the possible spread of contamination, guaranteeing the radiation safety of people and ensuring the dependable preservation of the health of people subjected to the effects of radiation. The State Committee for Hydrometeorology and the USSR Ministry of Health could and must play a substantially greater role in accelerating this process. Let us calculate

and once again verify the priorities in the expenditure of resources. And also remember that the elimination of the consequences of the accident for millions of people is one of touchstones of perestroika.

The deputy of chief engineer of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station V.G. Shcherbin noted that much is now being done at the station to eliminate the consequences of the accident. In cleaning up the territory, its collective is carrying out its purpose of producing electric power. We think, he said, that we do not need a future in which there will be much electric power but people will suffer from diseases and nature will deteriorate. We are for those future times when each person will be able to utilize all of the benefits of civilization freely. Our generation must do everything necessary to give our descendants a strong and healthy homeland. The problems of nuclear energy as well as the problems of the environment involve everyone. And everyone has to resolve them. But they must be resolved through a uniform and democratic means that is worthy of civilized man.

"Unfortunately, today we are missing some of those who blocked the path of a menacing element," said the citizen of Minsk G.F. Lepin, who participated in the elimination of the consequences of the accident. "We bow our heads to the memory of these heroes. All of us must now remember the living heroes as well and show concern for their medical care and social needs."

"I am a professional worker of the emergency service," said Yu.N. Samoylenko, general director of Spetsatom Production Association. "For me, information is to a significant degree the guarantee of safety. This is why it is so important for all of us to develop glasnost. This also involves the right to talk about professional matters, upon which depend the life and health of our people. The speaker pointed out that there is still not enough up-to-date and reliable information on the consequences of the accident at the nuclear station."

One speaker after another approaches the microphone. They talk about urgent matters and raise acute problems.

"What has happened must not leave the minds of the people," said N.I. Gordiyenko, a fitter in the tunnel detachment "Kievmetrostroy." "Today we are already certain that there are no safe technologies. What is needed is the highest responsibility on the part of all those who plan, design and operate complex production facilities. Public control and full glasnost is what our nuclear energy needs."

D.M. Grodzinskiy, corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and section head of the Botany Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, said: "The time after Chernobyl is a time when it has become clear that science and morality are inseparable. It is necessary to establish on a public basis an independent consultative center for medical aid that would include physicians who have nothing to hide from their patients."

So that Chernobyl will never happen again, stressed Yu.S. Shenshuchenko, corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the State and Law Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, words and appeals alone are not enough. It is necessary to accelerate the elaboration of a draft Law on Nuclear Energy and to give instructions to our people's deputies so that they will raise this question at a responsible state level and will strive for its positive resolution.

The Chernobyl accident, noted N.N. Sergeyev, secretary of the Kiev Party Gorkom, stirred up the entire world and covered the land around Kiev like a black disaster. It did not leave anyone indifferent. Chernobyl demonstrated the omnipotence and, at the same time, the helplessness of man. Nuclear energy, an outstanding achievement of human reason, must have the corresponding high organization of the society, which is being served by it, and a high cultural level and moral criteria for everyone responsible for its safe operation.

The life of a contemporary city is impossible without industrial enterprises and thermal electric power stations. But it is also made more complex in connection with their presence. In Kiev, much was done last year alone to improve the ecological situation. Emissions of harmful substances into the atmosphere were reduced by 23,000 tons and more than 50 water treatment facilities were built. The Novo-Bortnitskaya Aeration Station was put into operation. The production of penicillin in the city has been stopped.

The preservation of nature in production, in the household and in recreation zones must be under the control of the public, under our general control, the speaker said. There can be no trifles where it is a matter of the health and well-being of people, us and our descendants.

Chernobyl must be a strict lesson and a constant reference point in the determination of the moral and social level of responsibility of all of us to coming generations. Speaking about this at the meeting were the registered nurse N.A. Sych from Narodichskaya Hospital in Zhitomir Oblast, the writer V.A. Yavorivskiy, the participant in the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station V.F. Shovkoshitnyy, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Union of Theatrical Workers L.S. Tanyuk, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences V.G. Baryakhtar, people's deputy of the USSR and fitter at the Production Association imeni Artem L.A. Kononenko, and the secretary of the "Zeleniy svit" association S.Yu. Dudko. They noted that everyone—workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, party and soviet workers and representatives of public organizations—must work together to save life on the planet. The people are putting their hopes on the revolutionary reforms in our society outlined in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The participants in the meeting passed an appeal to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

At the meeting were B.V. Kachura, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; K.I. Masik, candidate member of the Politburo of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of the Kiev Gorkom; and V.A. Zgurskiy, chairman of the Kiev Gorispolkom.

On that same day, a Memorial Alley was laid out in Kiev's Friendship of Nations Park in honor of those who died as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station.

#### **Joint Harvard-Ukrainian Historical Commission Publication Proposed**

18001149 Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian  
20 Apr 89 p 4

[Interview with P.S. Sokhan, deputy director of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Institute of History, corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, by N. Yurchenko: "From the Wellsprings of Archeography"]

[Text] Looking through a magazine once, I saw a photo taken at an exhibition of political posters. One of the posters sticks in my mind. On a plate sat a lavishly decorated cake shaped like a book, with an inscription that read "History," and alongside it lay a knife. This struck me as a very accurate image: it was exactly the way history was treated until not too long ago, with some bits being arbitrarily sliced away and the remainder embellished. This could be done because the people at large were denied access to the most legitimate source there is; namely, historical documents.

Archeography is a specialized historical discipline which studies the theory and practice of the publication of historical sources and develops principles and methods for document publication. The Archeographical Commission of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences was put back to work on 5 October 1987. Corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, P. S. Sokhan, president of the commission and deputy director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of History, talks about its tasks and plans.

[Sokhan] Archeography has its own history in the Ukraine. A Provisional Commission for the Study of Ancient Documents was set up in Kiev in 1843. The documents it collected formed the basis of the Central Kiev Archive of Ancient Documents, which was created in 1852. The commission published 35 volumes of "The Archive of South-Western Russia," "The Annals of Samovidtsya," and "Historical Texts Published by the Provisional Commission for the Investigation of Ancient Documents." Incidentally, Taras G. Shevchenko worked for the commission from 1845 to 1847. In 1921 it became part of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Archeographical Commission.

In the twenties and thirties some 200 diverse works were published, including a four-volume "Ukrainian Archive." The commission was disbanded in the late thirties, though it was briefly revived during the thaw under Khrushchev.

[Yurchenko] What was the first thing the reconstituted commission did?

[Sokhan] We started, so to speak, with a review of our archeographical strengths.

In December last year, we held a republican meeting to which we invited scholars from many Ukrainian towns and cities. There were about 150 participants, including some leading specialists in archeography: F. P. Shevchenko from Kiev, Ya. S. Isayevich and O. Ya. Matsyuk from Lvov, and from Dnepropetrovsk M. P. Kovalskiy, Yu. A. Mitsik, and others. Most of these people are getting on in years and many have pupils of their own. It was decided at the meeting to begin training archeographers at Kiev University this very year.

Our commission has compiled a publication plan covering the period to the year 2000 and sent it to the Ukrainian SSR Goskomizdat and the Naukova Dumka publishing house. The plan comprises 17 series and basically involves the publication of such important sources as the corpus of documentation on the cossacks of Zaporozhe, and of Ukrainian and foreign memoirs on the same subject, the ethnographical heritage, and a series of seminal writings by Ukrainian philosophers.

We are accorded particular attention to the preparation of documents on the Soviet period. Our plans encompass the publication of original sources on the cooperative movement in the republic, the Ukrainian famine, the literary discussions of the twenties and thirties, and a collection of documents on the cultural repression. We are planning a separate series entitled "Forgotten Names and Events of History."

At our meeting it was also decided to publish facsimile copies of works by M. S. Grushevskiy, N. I. Kostomarov, and other historians. I would emphasize that many of these have never been published before.

[Yurchenko] What will the print run be?

[Sokhan] Our task is to render these books accessible to the broadest possible readership. They will be available on subscription, and it is already obvious that many of the editions will be huge.

[Yurchenko] The Archeographical Commission has been operating for over a year now. Would you tell us about the net results of its activity over that period?

[Sokhan] Three volumes of an investigation pursued by the Cyril and Methodius Society, "A Description of the Ukraine" by Beauplein, a French traveler of the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth-century "Kiev Governor-Generalship," (with "The Kharkov Governor-Generalship"

now in preparation), and D. Yavornitskiy's three-volume "History of the Zaporozhe Cossacks" have already been published.

We are planning to prepare for publication on an annual basis about 500 printer's sheets, with forewords, notes, explanations, in short with a scientific apparatus that adheres all the rules of archive scholarship. But the thing is that the commission has thus far been working solely on enthusiasm: no staff has been assigned to us, we have no paper consumption limit, no press equipment of our own, no rotaprint machinery for the speedy publication of certain documents. We have presented these issues to the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, and our ability to accomplish all we have in mind largely depends upon their decision.

[Yurchenko] I have heard that a group of archivists from the USA was here recently. What are your American colleagues interested in?

[Sokhan] In the possibility of cooperation, to be brief. Harvard University has decided on a forty-volume publication of a variety of original sources for the millennial celebration of the introduction of Christianity in Rus. But they are missing some of the documents. We are in the same situation, since certain documents were taken abroad by emigrants from the Ukraine. The Americans have proposed a joint publication, which is not a bad idea at all. Furthermore, we have been promised that if we take on the preparation of several Ukrainian-language volumes (which will be published first in English, then translated into Ukrainian), we will be given help with copying equipment, of which we are in dire need.

#### **Economist Advocates UkSSR Model for USSR Union of Cooperatives**

18110073z Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in  
Ukrainian 25 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Candidate of Economic Sciences V. F. Shulzhenko, member of the organizing committee for establishment of a national union of cooperatives, by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent L. Dayen: "Voice in the Wilderness"]

[Text] **An all-union congress of members of cooperatives is to be held this May, for the purpose of forming a USSR Union of Cooperatives. How are preparations for this event proceeding in our republic? What problems are arising?** Candidate of Economic Sciences V. F. Shulzhenko, member of the organizing committee for establishment of a national union of cooperatives, replies to questions on this subject put by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA.

[Dayen] Vadym Feodosiyovych, judging from statements in the press, such a union has already been formed. How do things actually stand?

[Shulzhenko] In fact there are currently three cooperative associations: the Rossiya Association, a confederation of cooperatives in Naberezhnyye Chelny and,

finally, the above-mentioned USSR Union of Cooperatives. They all claim the role of all-union cooperative organizations. There were no designated representatives of the union republics, however, nominated by corresponding congresses, attending their congresses. For this reason they can be considered to be interregion associations of cooperatives.

[Dayen] What is the difference between them?

[Shulzhenko] It is surely easier for me to state not their differences but rather their similarities. They all state lofty goals and proclaim popular political slogans such as active assistance to perestroika, combating bureaucracy, and establishment of a state governed by rule of law. And of course one of their functions is to defend the rights of the cooperatives. Their structures are also similar.

[Dayen] The cooperative movement is steadily expanding. As we know, more than 13,500 cooperatives are presently operating in this republic. They represent a total membership of almost 250,000 persons. Last year they produced more than 900 million rubles worth of output. Many of the consumer goods they manufacture are in considerable demand with the public. All this is certainly gratifying. At the same time letters to the editors also note certain negative tendencies and call cooperative endeavor legalized profiteering.

[Shulzhenko] I believe that a process of stratification of the cooperatives is presently taking place. The majority of cooperatives are collective workforces possessing knowledge, experience, and technology. They expect to operate in a serious manner and for a long time. For this reason they are establishing their own production facilities.

[Dayen] What are the principal "professions" of the cooperatives?

[Shulzhenko] In Ternopol Oblast they are building entire communities. In Lvov they are producing outstanding wearing apparel. In the Crimea they are putting in gas lines. In Kiev they are designing and building automated production lines and computers. You can see what diversity there is! In the localities, however, numerous obstacles are being placed in their path.

[Dayen] I would imagine, however, that enterprising individuals with initiative are not stopped by obstacles.

[Shulzhenko] That is true. And the establishment of state-cooperative associations was begun thanks to gifted individuals with considerable organizing abilities. By joint decisions by councils of workforces and cooperatives they are forming joint-stock capital funds, building new enterprises, and carrying out social programs. I would say that the future belongs to such associations.

[Dayen] Up to this point, Vadym Feodosiyovych, you have spoken only about positive trends....

[Shulzhenko] Do you mean that I shouldn't paint such a rosy picture? Well, I agree that there are also individuals

of questionable repute and with soiled hands in the cooperative movement. These are representatives of the so-called shadow economy of the period of stagnation who are seeking to join cooperatives. It is a shame that these "shashlychniki" [illegal private restaurant entrepreneurs], "tsekhoviki" [illegal private manufacturers], and "kuptsy" [illegal merchants and traders] are making use of the same privileges and benefits as honest, upright cooperative members.

[Dayen] But do these parasites not determine the social portrait of today's cooperative member?

[Shulzhenko] Unquestionably. Fortunately the majority of persons involved in cooperatives are honest, industrious, and experts at their trade. There are certain objective difficulties, however, which are making growth of the movement difficult. There exists a Law on Cooperatives, but to date there are no standard Cooperative Bylaws.

[Dayen] Would you suppose that is why labor cooperatives seek to form associations?

[Shulzhenko] That's right. They need this to protect their interests and in order jointly to solve problems. Their chance "fellow travelers" also vary—they are either against forming an association or they want to use it to strengthen their monopoly position in already captured areas of production and services.

[Dayen] What does your organizing committee do? What is its membership?

[Shulzhenko] The organizing committee contains representatives of all union republics, plus Moscow and Leningrad, as well as representatives of all-union professional associations of cooperatives: medical, construction, and scientific-technical. A. D. Korobkin, chairman of the Moscow Oblast Union of Cooperatives, was elected chairman of the organizing committee. At its meeting at the beginning of February the organizing committee decided to hold a constituent assembly in March to prepare for the joint congress. At this congress we plan to establish a unified National Union of Cooperatives, which will include the earlier-formed interregion associations.

[Dayen] What kind of representation will there be at the constituent assembly?

[Shulzhenko] There will be three delegates from each union republic, plus Moscow and Leningrad, and one delegate from each all-union association. Representation has also been determined for the congress, which is to be held about the beginning of May: 30 delegates from each union republic, plus Moscow and Leningrad, and 15 from all-union associations. This means that the republics should complete the forming of their unions in March. But first oblast and other territorial and professional associations of members of cooperatives must be formed. Of course under the condition that members of cooperatives within a given republic want to take part in

the all-union congress and decide the form, structure and functions of a future main national cooperative organization.

[Dayen] What is the organizing committee's position?

[Shulzhenko] Unfortunately the organizing committee has not yet reached a common point of view on the structure of a system of cooperative self-government.

[Dayen] If the organizing committee does not have a common position, could you perhaps state your own personal view in this manner?

[Shulzhenko] At a meeting of the organizing committee I submitted a proposal that we follow the example of the Ukraine. Last June a constituent assembly was held in this republic and bylaws of the UkSSR Union of Associated Cooperatives were adopted. Cooperatives joined into territorial, professional, production, and other organizations are entitled to join the Union.

[Dayen] What are their functions?

[Shulzhenko] The councils of the primary cooperative associations help secure for their members production facilities, equipment, raw materials, and means of transportation. And at the higher levels—from oblast to national—they would perform coordination and representational functions.

[Dayen] This would all seem quite logical. An orderly system. Why then is the unification of cooperatives taking place so slowly? What is the main reason for this?

[Shulzhenko] There are many problems. The main problem is fear on the part of cooperative members that their associations will be organized according to the notorious principles of a bureaucratic edifice or total collectivization with even worse consequences for the "kulaks"—that is, those cooperatives which operate the most effectively. On the other hand, however, the lack of a union will enable the bureaucracy to strangle "inconvenient" cooperatives one by one. It is time to make a choice, especially considering the numerous "gifts" in the form of various decrees which regulate or, stated more accurately, prohibit certain, for the moment, kinds of cooperative activity. And we have not seen the end of this....

And if cooperatives choose in favor of association, they must be prepared to make concessions to one another.

[Dayen] We are most probably dealing here with a lack of experience on the part of cooperative members. It is necessary to learn democracy, as the party calls upon us to do.

[Shulzhenko] You are absolutely right. There is a lack of knowledge about the various forms of modern management.

[Dayen] Do you personally possess certain experience and knowledge?

[Shulzhenko] One could not possess much experience, for the cooperative movement is quite young. I have been chairman of the Kontakt Cooperative for about a year and a half now, and only two months as chairman of the state-cooperative association council. As for knowledge, about 15 years ago I defended my candidate's dissertation on problems of development of the cooperative movement in capitalist countries. I have worked in the past in the United States and Switzerland—in UN organizations. Subsequently I went to work at the design office of one of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences institutes.

[Dayen] One practical question. What should members of cooperatives be doing in the immediate future in order to establish a Union?

[Shulzhenko] I have already mentioned the stages of preparation for the all-union congress. In order to meet this timetable it is necessary to hold a republic congress and establish a republic union at the beginning of April.

[Dayen] What should precede this?

[Shulzhenko] Establishment of oblast unions as the principal republic structural elements. Oblast, city, and rayon cooperative associations are already functioning in a number of regions. Now organizing committees should be formed in the oblasts. They are to elect and send their representatives—one from each oblast—to the republic organizing committee for the hammering out of joint decisions. Three delegates to the all-union constituent assembly must also be elected from already-formed oblast unions. The constituent assembly is scheduled for 6 March. Thus the republic organizing committee should hold its first meeting at the beginning of March. In some cities work has already commenced on forming professional associations of cooperatives: medical, construction, consumer goods, services, etc. If they consider it possible to join together in republic associations and to nominate their delegates to the organizing committee and to the congress, they can make use of the following initiative group address to communicate with one another: Union of Associated Members of Cooperatives, 2 October Revolution Square, Kiev. Telephone: 444-72-08 and 444-11-44.

Any cooperative can write to this address with its ideas, comments, and constructive suggestions.

#### **Belorussian Authorities Reaffirm Opposition to New Polluting Plants**

18300713a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 24 May 89 p 4

[Response to letter to the editor: "They Will Not Be Built"]

[Text] *Will new enterprises of the chemical, petrochemical, and microbiological industries and also of metal-consuming sectors of machine building be built in the*

*republic? What is the fate of projects for building biochemical plants in Drogichin and Skidel? Will production capacities of the Azot Association and others be expanded?*

#### **M. Dubravin, City of Grodno**

In the address of Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, at a meeting with voters of the city of Kobrin and Kobrinskiy Rayon, published in the republic press on 2 February 1989, it was noted that the republic has recognized the inadvisability of further locating new enterprises of the chemical, petrochemical, and microbiological industries and metal-consuming sectors of machine building, and during modernization and technical retooling of existing enterprises, capital investments will be directed primarily at carrying out environmental protection measures and radically improving the ecological situation.

Numerous examples can be cited as confirmation of this. In just the last 3 years, consent has not been given for new construction, expansion, and modernization of more than 200 enterprises in Belorussia. In particular, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry was refused permission to locate on the territory of the republic new plants for producing titanium dioxide and household chemicals and an equipment plant and to expand the Grodno, Svetlogorsk, and Mogilev Khimvolokno production associations [PO], the Lida Lakokraska PO, the Novopolotsk Polimir PO, and other enterprises. The USSR Ministry of the Petrochemical Industry was refused permission to create capacities for producing additives, liquid paraffins, raw materials for industrial carbon, and reclaiming waste oil at the Novopolotsknefteorgsintez PO, and bitumen at the Mozyr Oil Refinery, and to expand the Bobruyskshina PO. The USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production was denied permission to create capacities for producing hexamethylenamine at the Grodno Azot PO and to increase capacities for producing potassium fertilizers of the fourth mine management of the Beloruskaliy PO. The Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry was refused permission to build a new biotechnological plant in Brest Oblast and to expand and create capacities for producing feed protein at the Mozyr Feed Yeast Plant and at the Rechitsa Experimental-Industrial Hydrolytic Plant.

Construction of the Minsk Atomic Central Heating and Power Plant has been halted, as has surveying work for construction of a nuclear power plant in Vitebsk Oblast. Permission has been refused for the construction, expansion, and modernization of the experimental plant of the Dormash Scientific Production Association, the Mogilev Elevator Construction Plant, the Minsk Machinery Plant imeni Vavilov, the Volkovysk Roofing and Construction-Finishing Machine Plant, and other machine building enterprises.

Questions of building biochemical plants in Drogichin and Skidel have been considered numerous times in the

republic, but no final decision has been made. Taking into account the concern of the population and the public of the republic over possible negative effects of these plants on the ecological situation, the USSR Gosplan and USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for the Protection of Nature], at the request of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, are conducting additional examination of the projects by experts. The results of this examination will be considered by a republic commission set up by the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers. This commission will travel to the location and hold discussions with the population of these cities and rayons. After this, the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers will make a final decision, taking into account the opinions of all parties concerned.

Expansion of the Grodno Azot PO by the project for developing the productive forces of the Belorussian SSR for the period up to the year 2005 is not envisioned, except for the construction of additional capacities for producing caprolactam begun in 1988.

The inquiry was received at the Belorussian SSR Gosplan.

#### **Solovyev, Reymers on Environmental Policies, Administrative Concerns**

18300713b Moscow NEDEL'YA in Russian  
No 21, 22-28 May 89 p 15

[Interview with Li Georgiyevich Solovyev, senior secretary of the All-Union Ecological Society, and Professor Nikolay Fedorovich Reymers, bureau member of the USSR Ecological Union, by NEDEL'YA correspondent Aleksandr Spiridonov: "Who Will Give Us a Chance..."]

[Text] *The country's ecological situation is such that the time has come to sound the alarm. In an interview by our correspondent Aleksandr Spiridonov, Li Georgiyevich Solovyev, senior secretary of the All-Union Ecological Society, and Professor Nikolay Fedorovich Reymers, bureau member of the USSR Ecological Union, reflect on the very first and urgent steps for saving the environment.*

[Correspondent] Recently, we have more and more often been learning about ecological disasters in various regions of the country. The Aral Sea coastal region, the Donbass, Leningrad, Ufa, Kirishi, Chernovtsy... Are these more frequent acts of individual irresponsibility? Or are they splashes from the overall cup that is running over?

[Reymers] Today, information has become more accessible, but individual ecological responsibility has not increased likewise. But this is not the main thing. Our ecological situation as a whole has now become the decisive issue. It is similar to a gravely ill patient—when he has difficulty but is still breathing, still thinks something, and somehow gets around, but whose vital organs are seriously affected to one degree or another. Tentatively speaking, we can identify three degrees of the illness. For the Aral Sea coastal region, say, even the

word "crisis" is no longer suitable. There is a most genuine ecological catastrophe there, and it is time to move people from there. An example of a crisis condition—verging on catastrophic—is the south of the Ukraine, the northwestern part of the Black Sea, where for still unknown reasons we are observing a sharp rise in the level of hydrogen sulfide. Finally, the initial phase of the illness, typical for the Baykal, let us say, has spread virtually everywhere.

What the newspapers are publishing daily is just the tip of the iceberg. There exist summarized indicators which are used to determine the well-being or, rather, trouble with the environment, the biosphere. For example, we are in the bottom 30-40 countries in the world for average life expectancy and infant mortality rate. In the last 10-15 years, our sick-rate has increased an average of fourfold, and in many areas more than tenfold. A threatening situation is being created for maternity, genetic danger is increasing, as is the number of deformities during childbirth... The link between these indicators and the technogenic effect on the biosphere is quite clear and has been proven for science.

[Correspondent] Li Georgiyevich, I know that you are developing a special approach to studying technogenic changes in the biosphere. On what is the approach based? What prognoses is it giving?

[Solovyev] In essence, we have reached a qualitatively new stage in studying that which was familiar to us from the school of the cycle of substances in nature. It is precisely with this natural cycle that we, armed with mighty industry, have interfered in the most radical manner. For example, we extract from mines enormous amounts of mineral resources, that is chemical elements and their compounds, and then with the help of metallurgy, power engineering, agricultural technology, transportation, and the like, we drive them into the biosphere and interfere with the natural biogeochemical cycle that has existed in it for many centuries. The human organism, of course, must somehow react—and does react—to the abrupt, in only the last 3-4 decades, change in the chemical characteristics of the environment.

Scientists already are aware of the mutagenic and carcinogenic properties of many elements and compounds being discharged by industry into the environment. The minute biochemical mechanisms of degradation of living organisms are also being explained. Research has shown that an excess of a harmless chemical element such as magnesium inside a cell halts DNA fission. One can surmise what takes place when we direct arsenic, cadmium, or lead into living organisms....

[Correspondent] Up to now, scientists have been more frequently concerned over the threatening change in the physical parameters of the biosphere.

[Solovyev] Without a doubt, this is also very important; for example, superheating of the atmosphere and changes in the climate. But they actually cannot affect the human organism so effectively. Seasonal fluctuations

of the same average temperatures over many years are extremely small, and climatic changes are perceptible only in terms of centuries. Therefore, for now we are reaping merely the bitter fruits of unnatural chemical changes in the biosphere.

A graphic example of this is shown by our research on the technogenic disproportionation of nitrogen, which is applied to the soil in the form of various fertilizers. We measured its content in the protein tissue of fish caught in rivers and lakes in the European portion of our country and compared it to areas not subjected to anthropogenic contamination. The results are sad. Even in Lake Valday, still considered relatively clean, the concentration of nitrogen was 2-3 times the norm. In Sevan it was 6-8 times the norm. But the famous Volga sturgeon holds the sad record—10 times the norm! In almost 90 percent of the sturgeon we observed muscle separation. Some unknown compound had formed in the spaces between the muscle fibers. Muscles in this form no longer can perform their function.

Now a few words about the prospects. The situation in the world and in our country, apparently, will get worse. Plans of world industry call for increasing the production of basic chemical elements, coal and oil 2- to 2.5-fold by the year 2000. This sharp rise is not accompanied, in our country at least, by the same rapid increase in ecologically clean technologies.

[Reymers] The development of ecological technologies, as experience shows, is only a necessary but insufficient condition for resolving the problem. You see, a well-known scientific academician of ours, Boris Nikolayevich Laskorin, has with all his authority and energy been trying for more than 10 years now to make progress on this noble cause. Why is it so difficult? A multitude of obstacles, and we are very familiar with them—departmental parochialism, bureaucracy, the lack of an economic mechanism for renewing technology, and, if you will, the lack of effective public opinion (I would add scientifically informed). We are still not free from thinking under the old formula: "Despite individual shortcomings..."

Somewhere they poisoned a river or destroyed an entire sea, that is, they carried the situation to complete outrage, when nothing could be hidden anymore—and this immediately becomes the object of criticism by the entire mass media. It is sort of good. They were exposed and punished. Openly, in public, in spite of it... One gets the impression that, figuratively speaking, only the trees are hurt—though they are big trees, but it is individual trees, but the forest as a whole is still strong and will live. It will live, but will it survive...

[Solovyev] This tactic is actually advantageous for all departments. Really, isn't this a masterpiece of "black humor"? Today, the departments contributing the lion's share in poisoning the environment and the biosphere have been granted almost exclusive rights—they granted them to themselves—to monitor the condition of the

biosphere and to authorize or not authorize publication of data on its condition. Let's say the Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology] does not allow us to publish information on the change in the concentrations of chemical elements in the air, water, and living organisms, since, they say, these data will become known to "our enemies." The Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, the Main Administration on Use of Atomic Energy, the State Agroindustrial Committee... They are all protecting us in a similar manner.

[Correspondent] Wait a minute! What about the State Committee for the Protection of Nature [Goskompriroda]?

[Reymers] Fining the director of an enterprise poisoning a river 100 rubles is practically the harshest of several specific measures in this agency's arsenal. But the main thing is that the Goskompriroda, together with all other departments, are part of the Council of Ministers and are completely subordinate to it.

[Correspondent] All this seems like a vicious circle. How can it be broken?

[Solovyev] The very first condition is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the ecological situation.

[Reymers] I remember how in 1968 I, among other scientists, had the opportunity to work on a memorandum—two thick volumes—for the government on the state and development of biological and ecological research. All our labor proved to be in vain; the volumes were disappeared into a bureaucratic abyss. You see, if we had implemented the outlined program at that time, the Aral Sea coastal region would not have ended up in such a disastrous state. No one at that time heeded the scientifically substantiated warnings.

Many thoughts from that program are still relevant to this day. It clearly predicted AIDS. I didn't even need any special research for this—there were enough basic principles and rules already established by biology. The main rule is that it is mandatory to fill in the vacated ecological niche. By that time, smallpox, plague, and certain other diseases were virtually defeated. The ecological niche of their causes could not remain unfilled. There is another simple rule that answers the question: Who should take their place? Large organisms always make room for smaller ones, more highly organized ones for less perfect ones in this sense, and less irregular ones for more irregular ones. That means, the smallest and very irregular virus similar to the group and more lethal was expected. And the AIDS virus became it.

Other scientists made similar predictions with me "on the tip of the pen." We even were able to predict accurately when the first victims of the disease would appear—the 1980's.

But at that time, when truth was being dispensed and controlled, all our thoughts and alarms did not have any effect at all.

[Correspondent] Here, perhaps, is a mitigating circumstance, to a certain extent: It is extremely difficult to foresee the negative consequences of human activity.

[Solovyev] "Blissful are the poor in spirit, for they know not what they do." Only the departments know precisely what they are doing. They are also obligated to know and foresee. Here is a recent example of such "management." Recently, thorough research was conducted in Aktyubinsk, Chimkent, and Dzhambul oblasts. The concentration of fluorine, lead, cadmium, and arsenic in the soil, water, and plants in recent years has been increasing rapidly. The number of cases of ischemia of the heart, pneumonia, and hepatitis has increased many times over. The cows in some areas have actually all come down with fluorosis. People, including children, are drinking their milk and also becoming sick. Their teeth are falling out, their bones are softening... We proposed a set of measures making it possible to overcome this crisis. The program was bolstered by a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers. We can state today that this program has not been implemented, and the situation is getting worse. But when we suggested informing the local authorities and population about the situation at hand, we were told: Under no circumstances, you see, then everyone would run off and there would be no one left to work!...

[Correspondent] Alas, life experience does not permit considering this example as one of a number of very successful ones. Departmental objective reality organically will not accept ecological awareness.

[Reymers] Yes, for today's departments, tearing away the demands of ecology is quite natural. Of course, it is done at the expense of others. Such are the conditions of their existence, the order of things. Cooperatives, by the way, as much as I respect them, can do just as much harm here. In one instance, they rape nature for the plan; in the other, they do so for profit. There is no difference for nature... Ecological education, a scale of values with an ecological imperative at the top—all this is wonderful. But so far we just do not have firm legal grounds to regulate relations with nature...

[Solovyev] I think we now have the right to name a second condition of recovery: ecological legislation.

[Correspondent] We have already passed numerous laws on protecting nature.

[Solovyev] I can give you this information on the effectiveness of today's ecological statutes. In the unfortunate areas we investigated, the departments are using only 30-60 percent of the funds being spent for ecological purposes. But even these modest figures require an explanation. If the equipment installed for reporting purposes were operating (which is not always the case), after the first breakdown it would most likely stop for

good. It is a well-known pattern: it is installed and reported; the breakdown is under a different item altogether; there are no spare parts for repairs; another department is blamed for this. Therefore, as a rule, 5 of 10 filters are operating, and they are overloaded and with all ensuing consequences...

[Reymers] For ecological legislation to be effective and authoritative, it must be founded on supra-departmental knowledge. This stipulation is necessary, for in the past decades we have learned well how specific the functions of departmental science can be, for example, of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the State Agroindustrial Committee...

[Correspondent] But, you see, we are not alone in our ecological problems. They were encountered from industry even earlier in small Europe and in the U.S.

[Reymers] They have had time to poison much in their countries. More than us. And besides, cash is still cash. But there is also a counterbalance—a developed ecological movement, strong public opinion, higher technological standards, being kept informed. During a recent trip to the FRG, I heard their experts' opinion on the biosphere: "If we do not radically change the ecological situation in the next 5 years, we will no longer be able to exist as an industrially developed power." It was said definitely and self-critically. I sailed along the Rhine. It has become much cleaner, but is still leaves much to be desired. Incidentally, a program has already been developed under which the waters of this region must become drinkable by the end of 1995.

[Correspondent] Lately, I catch myself thinking that we will soon become accustomed to the reports about the ecological thread, like to microdoses of poison... How can we finally break through this wall?

[Solovyev] I am confident that only the USSR Congress of People's Deputies can handle the problems we have talked about today. We have named the most important conditions for solving the ecological problems, and if you put it bluntly, for saving ourselves: the whole truth plus ecological legislation. We probably can add something more to this; for example, the need to make the Goskomprirroda directly subordinate to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Ecology is a social issue and, I think, the most critical and urgent one today. Hundreds of billions of rubles will probably be spent on resolving ecological problems in the near future. It is obvious that it is the prerogative of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to resolve issues of such scope and importance.

The Concept of a Long-Term State Program on Environmental Protection and Efficient Use of Natural Resources of the USSR has just been prepared. It can serve as a beginning of fruitful work. But it may also have been done in vain, like many of its predecessors, if we do not do away with the departments' monopoly on

ecological information and do not lay a foundation of effective ecological legislation. The Congress can give us a chance.

#### **VASKhNIL Academician Discusses Ecological Problems in Agriculture**

18240191z Moscow ZEMLEDELIYE in Russian  
No 5, May 89 pp 2-6

[Article by Academician N.Z. Milashchenko, first vice president of VASKhNIL and director of the All-Union Scientific-Research Institute of Fertilizers and the Agricultural Soil Science: "Solving Ecological Problems in Farming"]

[Text] In many instances, the recommended zonal farming systems are not ensuring the efficient use of local soil-climatic resources, the effective use of the means for production intensification, the expanded reproduction of soil fertility or ecological balance in the environment.

At the present time, improvements are needed in our country in 79.2 percent of the arable land area, 77.4 percent of the natural haying land and 90 percent of the pastures. During the 1975-1985 period, the area of saline agricultural land increased by 95.1 percent, water-logged land by 24.2, swampy areas by 15.3, rocky land by 66.3 and land destroyed by water erosion by 12.1 percent. The area of acid arable soil decreased by only 19.5 percent and land destroyed by wind erosion by 20.1 percent. These figures underscore the problems in investment policies and also the dangerous ecological trends in farming. Thus a need exists for carrying out thorough basic studies and for developing new and more improved zonal ecologically balanced systems for intensive farming, which will be based upon optimum models for controlling soil fertility and the productivity of agro-ecological systems and which will ensure considerable growth in the production of high quality field crop husbandry products and the expanded reproduction of soil fertility.

This includes the solving of the following large-scale scientific-production tasks:

- efficient use of local natural-economic resources based upon the principles of soil-protective (nature-conservation landscape) farming;
- a study of the processes for the transformation of fertilizers and other chemical agents in the soil, the mobilization and immobilization of nutritional elements and a quantitative and qualitative evaluation of the trends in these processes for forecasting the effectiveness of fertilizers, in the interest of optimizing the nourishment of plants under various conditions;
- an expansion in the assortment of fertilizers and an improvement in the technologies for applying them in combination with soil improvement agents, pesticides and other chemical means;

- the creation of new forms of microbiological preparations which will ensure maximum use of biological nitrogen in farming;
- the organization of zonal soil-ecological monitoring on a bio-engineering basis and in a geographical network of extended experiments on the all-round use of fertilizers, pesticides and other chemical agents;
- the development and use of new technical means and technologies for remote soil control;
- the development and use of modern systems for operational forecasting of the level of soil fertility and the productivity of agro-ecological systems and the ecological situation, with use being made of electronic equipment;
- the creation and use of complexes of modular-unit automated highly adapted agricultural machines and implements for soil-protective resource-conserving intensive technologies;
- the development and use of more improved highly mechanized ecologically safe production technologies for farming products and with a high economic effectiveness. In the creation of such technologies, a need will exist for studying the physiological and biochemical mechanisms for the assimilation of nutritional elements during various stages in the organogenesis of plants, under conditions involving the all-round use of chemical processes, the establishment of physiological-biochemical regularities in the formation of the quality of products and development of the means and methods for regulating synthesis and the accumulation of the more important nutritional products—protein, carbohydrates and fats. Great importance is being attached to studies concerned with the development of high speed methods for forecasting plant nutrition, controlling the quality of a crop and early detection of diseases in plants.

Ecological balance in the intensive farming systems, and particularly in the production technologies, is the most important condition with regard to their acceptance for production.

The scientific lag in solving the problems of ecological safety in intensive farming has raised the idea of so-called alternative (organic, biological) farming in a number of developed countries throughout the world. The principal essence of these ideas lies in a rejection or sharp limitation upon the use in farming of chemical agents and intensive tilling of the soil.

The advocates of the concept of alternative farming, in defense of their own ideas, have advanced the following arguments:

- an increase in the volumes of use of chemical agents for protecting plants and also readily soluble mineral fertilizers leads to contamination of the products and the environment and this poses danger to human health;

—intensive tilling of the soil leads to a reduction in the amount of organic substance in the soil, to a deterioration in the physical properties, to erosion and, as a result, to a drop in fertility;

—in connection with growth in the cost of energy and the large expenditures of it for the production of chemical agents, their use on an extensive scale leads to the wasteful use of irreplaceable sources of energy;

—failure to value properly the complete utilization of organic waste products in agriculture leads to tremendous losses in the energy accumulated in them and also in plant nutrients.

These arguments are rather convincing and one cannot fail to agree with them.

Alternative farming presupposes the use of the advantages offered by crop rotation plans, plant residues, farmyard manure, pulse crops, green manure crops, various organic waste products of agricultural origin, minimal mechanical tilling of the soil and agrotechnical and biological methods for protecting plants against diseases, pests and weeds. All of this constitutes the basis for employing an ecological approach in farming management which, unfortunately, is not always taken into account by those who advocated the traditional method of intensive farming.

At the same time, an analysis of foreign data on the effectiveness of various alternative farming systems reveals, for example, that a positive balance in organic substance in the soil is possible only if use is made of additional (foreign) sources of it—organic fertilizers. A self-supporting balance for phosphorus and potassium, in the absence of mineral fertilizer applications, is impossible in many instances. And an important consideration is the fact that the cropping power level in alternative farming as a rule is considerably lower than traditional intensive farming. Thus, in an experiment conducted by the Bavarian Land Department for Soil Science and Field Crop Husbandry (FRG) involving the use of a five-field crop rotation plan—sugar beets, barley, potatoes, wheat and oats—the following results were obtained for the average annual productivity of a hectare of arable land in grain units: with minimal use being made of chemical agents—3,230 and for maximum use—7,280. In the first variant, mineral fertilizer and lime materials were not employed whatsoever and pesticides—only to a minimal degree; twice during a crop rotation, use was made of intermediate crops for green fertilizer and farmyard manure was applied annual at the rate of 12 tons per hectare. In the second variant, mineral fertilizer ( $N_{218}P_{200}K_{303}$ ), farmyard manure was not applied, organic substance was added to the soil in the form of beet tops, potatoes and grain straw, post-harvest green manure crop was used three times during a crop rotation and extensive use was made of pesticides.

At the same time, we cannot consider as having been proven the fact that products grown by means of alternative farming are more nutritious and safe for health in

all instances. Thus a committee of experts in Switzerland, using various scientific methods, was unable to find any difference in quality between "biological" and "conventional" vegetables. In the FRG, an association of consumers also drew the conclusion that the products of biological farming are no better than the remaining methods. In Austria, food product research personnel also question the advantages of "biological" products (it has not been accurately proven that those who consume them are more healthy or live longer).

Of all the nations in the world, the greatest use of chemical processes for the production of a unit of agricultural product takes place in Japan, where the average duration of life for the population is increasing and has achieved the highest level found in the world today. Certainly, it is still premature to draw the final conclusions regarding this critical and complicated question, since new and more extensive and through studies have yet to be carried out.

Obviously, improvements in the modern zonal farming systems and intensive technologies for the cultivation of agricultural crops must proceed along the path concerned with making maximum use of the principles of biological farming.

At the same time, the safe and highly effective use of chemical agents on an extensive scale requires that solutions be found for a number of ecological problems worth mentioning at this time.

The intensification of agricultural production is increasing sharply the danger of water and wind erosion of soil. At the present time, the annual losses in nutrients from the soil and fertilizers as a result of erosion are already numbered in the millions of tons. A huge portion of these losses is moving from areas of fine earth into water areas and contaminating the water. The same holds true for pesticides and other chemical agents being applied to fields. These losses and environmental contamination can be avoided mainly through the introduction of soil-protective, contour-landscape farming. The plans call for such farming systems to be mastered on an area of not less than 46 million hectares by the year 2000.

With an increase taking place in the use of chemical means, a greater role will be played by intra-soil and drainage waters in the movement of chemicals and thus there will be a greater danger of the environment being contaminated by them. Thus a promising trend for scientific studies in agricultural ecology includes: a study of the migration of biogenic chemical substances by soil profiles and in subsoil layers, a study of those factors which affect the intensity of these processes and the development of methods for controlling them at a safe level. A definite amount of experimental material testifying to the existence of a number of unfavorable ecological trends has been accumulated on certain aspects of this problem. For example, it has been established that the use of excessively high dosages of mineral and organic fertilizers is sharply increasing the washing out

of the soil of nitrogen, calcium, magnesium, potassium and sulphur. Studies carried out at the Smolensk Branch of VIUA [All Union Scientific Research Institute of Fertilizers and Soil Science] have shown that a substantial accumulation of mineral nitrogen in the soil and also nitrogen losses from the root layer are observed only when the nitrogen applications are at the level of 90-120 kilograms per hectare or higher. Of the overall losses of nitrogen fertilizer caused by washing out from the root layer during a crop rotation, winter wheat accounted for from 45 to 60 percent. In the case of barley, the movement of nitrogen was 1.3-3 times lower and for perennial grasses the nitrogen losses did not exceed 10 percent.

Considerable accumulations in deep soil layers and an intensive movement of nitrates in ground waters were observed in those areas where the nitrogen dosages exceeded the ability of the plants to assimilate it, or when the periods for applying the fertilizer did not coincide with the period for their active use by the crop. The content of nitrates and other nitrogen containing toxicants in water areas is influenced by natural factors (climate, hydrology, soil) and even more by anthropogenic factors. An increase in the contamination of ground waters and water areas by nitrates has been noted in all areas in recent years.

The ecologically safe use of nitrogen fertilizers ensures the elimination of this dangerous process.

In achieving a balance in the ecological systems, special importance is attached to calculating and regulating the movement not only of nitrogen but also other biogenic elements, especially calcium and magnesium. For example, it has been established that the use of ammonium sulphate increases the losses of calcium and sulphur from the soil by a factor of 2-3 compared to other forms of nitrogen fertilizers.

Lysimetric studies carried out over a period of many years have shown that a close interrelationship exists between the effectiveness of fertilizers and agricultural crop harvests on the one hand and the washing out of nutritional elements from the soil on the other. Science has developed many methods for achieving a sharp reduction in the washing out of fertilizers from the soil: cultivation of post-harvest crops, the use of non-chloride potassium fertilizers, split applications of nitrogen and the sowing of perennial grasses. At the same time, the migration processes in the soil for various nutrients and the effect upon them of anthropogenic factors are deserving of considerably greater scientific attention, especially that taking place on irrigated and drained lands and in zones characterized by a natural washing out moisture regime. Special importance is being attached to accelerating the development and use of long-acting forms of nitrogen-containing fertilizers which limit sharply the migration of nitrogen compounds and environmental contamination by them. Large-scale animal husbandry complexes where surplus volumes of liquid organic fertilizers accumulate present a high level of danger insofar as environmental contamination is concerned. In the

absence of effective systems for utilizing farmyard manure run-off, first of all, huge losses in organic fertilizer are tolerated and, secondly, the environment becomes contaminated. On the whole, we have transformed the Bavarian attitude towards organic fertilizers from a purely agronomic problem into an economic and ecological problem.

In the non-chernozem zone alone, more than 60 percent of the organic fertilizer, or in excess of 100 million tons, is not being used in agriculture. This is resulting in a shortfall in the crops and in contamination of water areas and the air.

Meanwhile, science has many effective developments for production technologies and for applying various types of organic fertilizers and yet production is seriously lagging behind in mastering them. As a rule, the work suffers from shortcomings and imperfections in the technical means available for preparing and applying organic materials and also from unsuccessful technical solutions for the removal of farmyard manure at animal husbandry facilities.

The ecologization of agriculture requires the organization of strict operational control over the status of natural objects. In this regard, science must develop a number of ecological norms for agricultural activity. This work is already being carried out in countries of the YeES [European Economic Community]. Here the maximum permissible dosages for nitrogen fertilizer applications have been established by crops and types of soil and limitations have also been introduced for livestock density. The problem concerned with the contamination of soil and farming products by toxicants contained in fertilizer and pesticides is arousing concern. Here we have in mind fluorine, heavy metals and micro-elements. This applies in particular to phosphates. Thus the average lead content in phosphates is 30, in superphosphates—34 and in complex fertilizers—57 milligrams per kilogram.

According to data supplied by a toxicology laboratory of TsINAO [Central Institute of Agrochemical Services for Agriculture], 3,200 tons of cadmium, 16,630 tons of lead and 553 tons of mercury may be applied to the soil together with phosphorus fertilizers throughout the USSR on the whole by the year 1990. Phosphorus fertilizers are also a source for increasing the content in the soil of fluorine, stable strontium and the natural radioactive compounds of uranium, radium and thorium. Unfortunately, the biological aspects of this problem in the agro-ecological systems have still not been worked out.

The use of micro-fertilizers must also be worked out taking into account the need for protecting the environment. The excessive use of micro-fertilizers can lead to a surplus (harmful) accumulation of them in agricultural products and in the soil.

The extensive use of pesticides and retardants based upon these highly biologically active chemical preparations has been recommended in the intensive technologies for the

cultivation of agricultural crops. Their effect upon an increase in the cropping power of crops is very high. However, the danger of their contaminating food products and causing harm to the environment is great. Thus special importance is attached to learning how to employ pesticides and retardants in a correct and scientifically sound manner together with other means and methods. Science must provide clear recommendations on a permissible chemical workload in the intensive technologies for the various crops and zones.

This requires the rapid organization, in the required volume, of studies dealing with an ecological evaluation of the possible systems for the all-round use of chemical processes, in the interest of developing the necessary zonal norms. Such studies involving the use of modern methods for determining the content of toxicants in plants and soil and including the use of biological tests for evaluating the overall toxicity have already been started at VIUA.

For production purposes, a strong need exists for sound recommendations on the possibilities and conditions for using various types of chemical preparations in tank mixtures for all-round one-time treatments of crops.

Great opportunities for reducing the chemical workload in intensive technologies are becoming available through the development and use of automated systems for controlling the formation of a crop, systems which ensure the selection of optimum variants for the use of fertilizers and chemical and biological agents for protecting plants while taking into account the weather and other conditions.

The contamination of products by nitrates and nitrites is arousing special concern and alarm within society. This applies mainly to potatoes and vegetables. The specialists are aware that this is not caused merely by the use of nitrogen fertilizers. An excess of nitrates in food products is mainly the result of crude violations of the agricultural requirements for the use of nitrogen fertilizers and this is associated either with agronomic ignorance on the part of the farmers or with their lack of responsibility. The zonal recommendations for ecologically safe use of nitrogen fertilizers that have been developed must be observed in a strict manner in all areas and thorough control must be exercised over the farming products sold to ensure that their nitrate content conforms to the permissible norms established by USSR Minzdrav [Ministry of Health]. Special importance is attached to the role played in this work by the toxicological laboratories of planning-research stations for the use of chemical processes and sanitary-epidemiological stations.

The agrochemical service and USSR Minzdrav have developed and are using various methods for determining the presence of nitrates in water, feed and plants and appropriate instructions and instruments are available in this regard.

At the same time, the problem of nitrates and other toxicants requires further study in the interest of solving

it completely. Here we have in mind the implementation of an all-round program of scientific studies and the carrying out of a unified system of agro-ecological monitoring of toxicants within the soil - water - plant - animal - man system. The methods and instruments for controlling nitrates and other toxicants must be standardized in conformity with this program.

Exceptional importance is also attached to other factors in solving the problem of nitrates and other toxicants.

A specific master of the land and products grown is still often lacking at kolkhozes and sovkhozes and there is no economic mechanism for controlling the quality of the crops. A mutual lack of responsibility results in crude violations of the technologies. Under such conditions, follow-up control is not very effective.

The new economic mechanism at kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the introduction of lease type relationships must create favorable conditions for controlling output quality during the production stage.

Ecologically safe technologies for the use of chemicals are imposing high requirements with regard to the technical equipment used for ensuring accuracy in the established dosages and in uniform applications. Our industry is still producing equipment which is not meeting these requirements. The machine builders must raise sharply the quality of the machines being used for employing chemical processes in farming.

It is possible at the present time to improve the ecological situation in farming considerably through a more extensive and intelligent use in production of the available scientific developments and recommendations, such as the periodic liming of acid soils, ensuring balanced mineral nutrition during all stages in the growth and development of plants and others. Great opportunities are becoming available in this regard in connection with the prospects for utilizing biological nitrogen through the creation of new micro-biological preparations (for example, rhizobium bacteria).

An important trend in studies being carried out is that of selecting pulse plants with a raised photosynthetic capability, since this strengthens nitrogen fixation. Studies on nitrogen fixation using grass family plants appear to be very promising. The results obtained are used in the production of experimental batches of inoculants which stimulate the nitrogen-fixation of the grasses.

Thus, for the foreseeable future, fertilizers and other means employed for the use of chemical processes in optimum combinations with other agrotechnical and biological means and methods continue to serve as the foundation for raising the fertility of soils, increasing the cropping power of agricultural crops and regulating the quality of farming output.

At the same time, a need exists for thoroughly developing the ecological principles for employing chemical

processes in intensive farming and ensuring their realization in production. Great opportunities are available here primarily within the framework established for carrying out the state program of studies—"Highly Effective Processes for the Production of Food Goods" directed towards: improving soil fertility and the intensive technologies for producing grain and other field crop husbandry products.

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### **Metro Station Contaminated by Tashkent Aircraft Plant Waste**

#### **Metro Workers Demand Safety**

18300682 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
14 Apr 89 p 1

[Letter by R. Dukas, R. Imangulov, V. Kozlenko, N. Mirkhamitov and others, workers of the Chkalovskaya Metro Station, containing a total of 53 signatures: "Poisonous Wastes Are Inundating the Chkalovskaya Metro Station"]

We are bringing to your attention that, a year and a half after the opening of the Chkalovskaya Metro Station, the concealment of harmful working conditions is being exposed.

The station is located in the region of the waste ditches of the aircraft plant imeni Chkalov. Oil products are secreted into the tunnel, and strong odors of chemical substances are being detected.

Our comrade B. Irismatov had his hands covered with a red rash—an analysis of the subsoil water determined a large quantity of chrome. L. Zhdanova, after a night shift in the tunnel, began to vomit. In the hospital they diagnosed—poisoning, but they do not give orders for a chemical-biological analysis. Many station workers feel worse, there have been complaints about nausea, headaches, tickling in the throat, dryness in the nose, becoming easily tired, edema, pain in the heart and kidneys.

We appealed more than once to the station chief, there were two commissions, but no one knows the results of the examination. An intra-departmental commission to check the air and water also arrived. Evidently, the management knew about its coming and beforehand arranged for the washing of the tunnel and the station tracks. The ventilation of the vestibule, through which the examiners proceeded, they connected to an intake, having created a refreshing draught. They also connected well pumps, which is why the level of subsoil water temporarily fell. The traces of oil products they covered up with clay. After the departure of the commission, the well pumps came up, ventilation was transferred to the winter regime.

Why do they do this? In any case, not for the improvement of the conditions of our labor. We earnestly ask for help.

**From the editors:** Reports of the Uzbek Telegraph Agency about the alarming situation of the Chkalovskaya Station, about the dangerous leakage of chrome solutions from the territory of the aircraft plant have been repeatedly published by the republic, oblast, and city press. The managers of the largest enterprise of the capital got off with formal replies, the controlling organs acted indecisively, and law enforcement was completely silent.

And here people began to get sick. And besides, as is evident from the letter, the management of the subway not only fails to sound the alarm, but also indulges in attempts to cover up what is happening.

So what other alarm signals are necessary, what is more precious than the life of people?

To the attention of the management of the subway, the workers of which are suffering because of the harmful working conditions at the Chkalovskaya Station.

To the attention of the managers of the Tashkent Aircraft Production Association, in which people see the main culprits of the chrome poisoning.

To the attention of the Sanitation and Epidemiological Service and the State Committee for the Protection of Uzbekistan, whose responsibility it is to come out for the protection of the health of people.

To the attention of the labor union of the railway transportation workers, whose duty it is to protect the interests of the workers.

To the attention of the procuracy of the city, in which the legislation on the protection of the environment has been grossly violated.

People are waiting for reports on the measures that have been adopted.

#### **Officials Promise Corrective Measures**

18300682 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
26 May 89 p 2

[UzTAG report: "The Chkalovskaya Metro Station: Radical Measures"]

[Text] "Poisonous Wastes Are Inundating the 'Chkalovskaya' Metro Station." Under such a heading, the newspapers on 14-15 April published a letter of a group of workers of the Tashkent Subway with a commentary of the Uzbek Telegraph Agency. The question was raised concerning the necessity of a decisive improvement of the ecological situation at the station.

An answer has been received to the publication, with two signatures, authenticated with stamps. V. Zhuravlev, general manager of the Tashkent Aircraft Production Association and Sh. Shaabdurakhimov, chief of the Tashkent subway, share the concern of the collective of the Chkalovskaya Station. Measures have been and are

being taken which exclude the pollution of the subsoil water with chrome solutions, as well as the atmosphere.

By decision of the Tashkent Gorispolkom, adopted after the publication, the dumps of acid and combustible materials and lubricants will be transferred from the metro station. The completion of the work is the second quarter of the current year.

New service lines are being built to connect part of the sewer to another sewage collector (at the Ulitsa Generala Petrova): Completion of the work in the third quarter.

The aircraft builders are building new purification installations for 12,000 cubic meters per 24-hour period, at a cost of 6.17 billion rubles. The sewers will be increased to there by networks laid in through-canals with chemical protection. The project of these installations excludes the possibility of the pollution of subsoil water.

The association has established control for the collection, removal and neutralization of chrome-containing electrolytes:

- together with the city and railway sanitation and epidemiological station, the hydrometeorological service and the subway, the systematic selection and analysis of air and water samples at the Chkalovskaya Station and in the adjacent tunnels have been arranged;

- in its turn, the Tashkent subway has established a special ventilation system in the Chkalovskaya Station and the adjacent stages: Two powerful installations work continuously to eject air, the local ventilation operates automatically around the clock. The wells for lowering the water operate around the clock;

- the purification of the drainage system and supply chutes, the treatment of the station and stages, and the cleaning of the tunnels and station tracks are conducted constantly. The work places of the personnel are transferred from the 1st to the 2nd vestibule or to other stations;

- an end has been put to the emission of air from the service and technical premises of the 1st vestibule into the tunnel, mechanical shutters and hermetic gates in a reverse access track have been opened for better air circulation;

- a provisional first-aid station, which operates around the clock, has been opened, ointments for the protection of skin diseases of the hands have been acquired, and the production activity of the station has been provided with hot water. At the request of the personnel, out-of-turn medical examinations in the travelling polyclinic have been given to 32 workers of the Chkalovskaya Station, and 63 workers of the subway are undergoing a check-up in the Scientific Research Institute for Sanitation, Hygiene and Vocation Diseases;

—on the recommendation of the travelling committee of the trade union, an order was given, which calls for: A temporary wage increase for work in harmful conditions, the giving out of milk, and a shortened work shift.

With some people it has recently become fashionable: To give a hostile reception to any critical observations of the press. Let some "refuters" learn from this answer—how one should react to criticism in the press. We will await from the collectives of the aircraft builders and the subway the successful implementation of the outlined measures for the protection of the environment and the protection of the health of the workers.

### **Goskompriroda Chief Morgun on Uzbek Environmental Concerns**

18300683 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
20 May 89 p 1

[Interview with F. T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature [Goskompriroda], by N. Shulepina, UzTAG correspondent: "In the Name of Future Generations. Discussion with the Chairman of the USSR Goskompriroda, F. T. Morgun; date and place not specified]

[Text] Fedor Trofimovich, you have just returned from a trip to Lake Aral. Your opinion of the ecological situation there, of the paramount measures?

[Morgun] The situation at the Sea of Aral and the Priaral is known to everyone and requires immediate actions. It is obvious that the decree adopted last year by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers must be strictly implemented within the projected time periods, having concentrated on this the efforts of the soviet and party organs, labor collectives and departments. This will make it possible at first to stabilize, and then to improve the situation.

To make the Sea of Aral the same as it was is very difficult. One of the most important tasks today is to provide the population of Karakalpakia with pure drinking water and to raise social, cultural, and daily life standards. Another, no less important task is to restore crop rotations in the region. Only they will cure the soil and make it possible to reduce the expenditure of chemicals and, consequently, the emission of harmful flows into the rivers.

Drip irrigation can bring a great effect. I think that here it does not pay for the Gosplans of the USSR and Uzbekistan to economize on pipes and labor expenditures. The invested funds will pay for themselves many times over—through the harvest, the health of the soil, and the health of people.

The fate of the Priaral and the problem of the economy of water are closely connected. This is why every chance must be used. For example, the entire agriculture of Canada has repudiated the plough and uses the paring cutter. And in our country experience has been accumulated of the ploughless cultivation of the soil in Northern

Kazakhstan and Siberia—this technology, besides economy of water, increases productivity and improves the structure of the soil.

And there is no harm in taking an example from such a country as the FRG. I did not see there smoking chimneys or chemical plants of which the population is afraid. For tens of kilometers, [plastic] film [plenka] stretched, under which, even in the cold spring time, tomatoes and cucumbers are flourishing and radishes are ripening. As I was told, Uzbekistan's requirements for plastic film material is satisfied only to the extent of one-fifth. How much vegetable, fruit, and irrigation water we lose because of this! I intend to put to the USSR Gosplan the question about the allotment of 25,000 tons of film to Uzbekistan.

[Correspondent] In Uzbekistan you got acquainted not only with the agricultural, but also with the industrial regions. For example, with Chirchikom, where the problems of environmental pollution are being acutely felt. . . .

[Morgun] I was at the Elektrokhimprom [electrochemical industry]. The trouble is that before 1979 not a kopeck's worth was done here for the protection of nature—neither by the union ministry, nor by the republic itself. Ecological literacy was not even mentioned. Now the situation is changing. The chemists have already done a great deal to clean the water. But a great deal has also not yet been done. The collective has a program for the protection of nature, for which about 40 million rubles have been allotted. But there is nobody to build—there is no contractor. And at the same time, the construction of a number of new enterprises is being planned in the republic.

Perhaps it is worthwhile to count up how expedient this is if the effluents in the existing ones are not brought down to the norm. For the economy of the republic, with its transition to khozraschet, this sluggishness may turn into considerable damage. Already now, the first stops of enterprises by the organs of Goskompriroda produce millions in losses.

[Correspondent] Is there a guarantee that the large sums of money for measures to protect nature will spent usefully by the enterprises?

[Morgun] We are trying to help them in this. In Goskompriroda—both of the country and Uzbekistan—special subdivisions have been created which concern themselves with expert examinations of projects. Incidentally, the expert examination of the project for measures to protect nature in Elektrokhimprom is being conducted at the request of the chemists themselves.

[Correspondent] Evidently, this is more advantageous to them than to pay fines for harmful effluents later?

[Morgun] Of course. It is being planned already in the next year or two to determine payment for harmful effluents and discharges even within the norm. And much more will have to be paid for exceeding it.

[Correspondent] Many are worried that your department is far from protecting all of nature. The water transport workers, the USSR State Committee for Forestry, the Ministry of the Fish Industry, the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology have retained some functions. And the protection of the land, the State Agroindustrial Committee has left

completely to itself. It turns out that, as before, nature has many masters. . . .

[Morgun] Unfortunately, this question has not been decisively solved to the end. Solve it, we will, [but] for the time being, the lack of cadres and the weak technical base serve as a brake.

**FIGURE**

**DATE FILMED**

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